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Monthly Summary.

DOMESTIC.—On Friday, 8th June, Mr. Stephen Cave called the attention of the House of Commons to the great increase in the Cuban Slave-trade, and was answered by Lord John Russell, who stated that from 30,000 to 40,000 slaves are annually imported into Cuba. For a report of the debate, see our Parliamentary Record.

On Monday, the 25th of the same month, Lord Stratheden moved in the House of Lords, for the re-appointment of a British Consul at Mozambique, and made a speech on the subject of the slave-trade, and the connivance at it of the Portuguese authorities at Mozambique. Lord Wodehouse, Lord Brougham, the Bishop of Oxford, and Earl Granville, took part in the discussion, and the House having divided, the motion was carried by a majority of eleven to six. Our Parliamentary column contains a record of the discussion.

Mrs. Putnam, a lady of colour, who crossed over to Liverpool from Boston, on board of one of the Cunard line steamers, but was refused the right of dining at the chief-cabin table, because she was of a dark complexion, and this notwithstanding she had paid full fare, has been subjected to a similar indignity on her return. The Company made known to this lady and her friends, that they would not be allowed to take their meals with the other cabin passengers, although they had paid for equal accommodation. A correspondence on the subject took place, which, we understand, resulted in the Company's relinquishing their pretensions to make American prejudices have the force of law on board an English ship, one of a fleet which is heavily subsidized by English money for carrying the mail-bags. We

say "we believe" this to be the case, because we are not quite sure of the precise nature of the arrangement that was made.

On Saturday, July the 14th, a deputation of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* waited upon Lord Brougham, by appointment, to confer with him on the subject of the Cuban slave-trade. On the following Wednesday, the 18th, his Lordship headed a deputation to Lord John Russell, to submit to him the result of the deliberation of the conference. An account of what passed on these occasions will be found in another column.

On Saturday, the 14th, a deputation of the Committee also waited upon His Excellency Count Lavradio, the Portuguese Ambassador, to call his attention to the continuance of slave-trading from Mozambique, to the connivance of the local authorities, to their encouragement of the French immigration scheme, and to the discrepancies between the Portarias of 1855 abolishing Slavery in the transmarine possessions of Portugal, within a brief period specified, and the royal decree of the 29th of April, 1858, abolishing Slavery within twenty years.

On Thursday the 19th ultimo, a meeting of gentlemen interested in African Civilization was held at the Caledonian Hotel, Adam Street, Adelphi, convened by the promoters of the *African Aid Society*, to consider the objects of the institution, and to take measures for carrying them into effect. Lord Alfred Churchill, M.P., occupied the chair, and resolutions were passed approving the movement.

On Saturday afternoon, July 21st ultimo, a meeting of gentlemen interested in the welfare of the fugitives in Canada, was held at Fendall's Hotel, Palace Yard, Westminster, to hear statements on the subject of the

colonists of the Elgin settlement, from the Rev. Dr. King and the Rev. Dr. Burns, who attended as a deputation. Their object is to obtain a sum of money in aid of Schools. Sir John Arnott, M.P. for Kinsale, occupied the chair, and a resolution was passed approving the object proposed, and appointing a Committee to carry it out.

The Reverend Doctor Cheever has arrived in England from the United States.

A "Correspondence respecting Emigration from Canton" has just been issued to both Houses of Parliament. It fully substantiates the allegations of kidnapping and fraud advanced in the published documents of the *Anti-Slavery Society*—though their accuracy was denied at the time—but arrangements have been made by which it is hoped similar abuses will hereafter be avoided.

The *Colonial Missionary Society* has become involved in a discouraging controversy, into the particulars of which we shall enter in our next. The Rev. W. F. Clark, one of its missionaries, recently employed in Vancouver's Island, had adopted the rule of not separating coloured worshippers from the white, in the House of God. The Rev. Mr. Macfie—a brother missionary—had adopted the contrary practice. Hence a controversy, and a reference of the question to the Board at home. The Board declines to pronounce any opinion, and thus virtually condemns the Rev. W. F. Clark's course. That gentleman has therefore resigned his ministerial office.

HOLLAND.—On the 2nd of May last, the Colonial Minister presented to the Second Chamber of the States-General the new bill for the Emancipation of the Slaves in Dutch Guiana. The principles of the bill are:—1st. Immediate and complete emancipation; 2nd. Indemnity to the slaveholders; 3rd. Equal rights to the emancipated; 4th. A ten years' supervision of the emancipated, by the State. 5th. A cessation of this supervision before the ten years have expired, should it be found practicable. In the absence of the bill, we can form no very accurate judgment of the measure, but clauses 4 and 5 appear to us to be inconsistent with clauses 1 and 2.

UNITED STATES.—Since our last summary, the most important event has been the passage of Senator Davis's resolutions in the United-States Senate, on the 24th and 25th of May. They affirm the duty of Congress to interfere to protect slave property in the territories, in spite of territorial legislation hostile to that institution. Mr. Pugh was the only Democratic senator who opposed the passage of these resolutions, Mr. Douglas being absent through sickness.

On the 31st, Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, the great grandson of President John Adams, and the grandson of Pre-

sident John Quincy Adams, made his *début* in the House. His speech was anti-slavery in spirit.

The House of Representatives, after some opposition from Southern members, had finally passed the bill appropriating 220,000 dollars for sending home and supporting a number of recently captured Africans, by United States ships of war.

A third slaver had been taken, and the Africans landed at Key West. More than 1700 Africans were thus about to be restored to Africa, arrangements having been made by the Government to send them to Liberia through the Colonization Society. The cruisers who have taken the slavers are the *Wyandotte*, *Mohawk*, and *Crusader*. The slavers were the *Wildfire*, *William*, and *Bagota*. They were all captured in the Cuban waters. There is already a population of over 500 recaptured Africans on Stockton creek, about four miles from Monrovia. The name of the town is New Georgia—called so after the State of Georgia—whence the early settlers of the place came after being recaptured. These Africans are industrious farmers, and do their share towards supplying Monrovia with marketing. One of them was a few years ago elected to the Liberia House of Representatives. By the laws of Liberia, those who are under age are bound out to responsible persons, who are required to instruct them in some useful occupation or trade; teach them to read, write and cypher; and, when they become of age, give them twelve dollars each. The *Colonization Society* provides them five acres of land each, as to other settlers.

The *American Tract Society* had held its annual business meeting. The Rev. Dr. Walcott proposed a resolution to the effect that "the publication or republication of suitable tracts, setting forth the iniquity of the African slave-trade, would meet the warm approbation of the Society." The Rev. Mr. Lee immediately proposed an amendment, condemning the sale of beer on Sundays. Amidst much confusion, a motion was then made to adjourn the meeting to the next anniversary, which was carried, and the assembly broke up abruptly.

The American Senate has suddenly abandoned the Harper's Ferry investigation.

The Rev. Theodore Parker—one of the most prominent anti-slavery leaders, and a most eloquent and popular preacher—died at Florence on the 10th of May last, after a long illness, brought on by over-exertion. He was only in his fiftieth year.

The Hon. Gerritt Smith had quite recovered from his fit of insanity.

The *Church Anti-Slavery Society* had held its first annual meeting at Boston. It refers in its report to the following denominations as maintaining an anti-slavery Christianity,

namely: the *Society of Friends*, the *Wesleyan Methodist Connexion*, the *Free Will Baptists*, the *United Brethren in Christ*, the *Reformed Presbyterian Church*, the *United Presbyterian Church*, and the *Free Presbyterian Church*. All these churches, numbering about 315,000 members, and 3500 ministers, make slaveholding a "disownable" offence, and a bar to membership and communion.

Captain Braley, who kidnapped two boys from Jamaica, has been tried at Norfolk, convicted, and sentenced to three years penal servitude. The American Government has sent the boys home, on board the American barque *Warluk*.

The *Methodist Episcopalian General Conference* has closed its session at Buffalo. The subject of Slavery received a large measure of attention. Numerous petitions were received, and referred to a committee, which presented a majority and a minority report.

The first resolution of the majority report was as follows:—

Resolved, 1. By the Delegates of the several Annual Conferences, in General Conference assembled, that we recommend the amendment of the General Rule on Slavery, so that it shall read: "The buying, selling, or holding of men, women, or children, with an intention to enslave them."

The vote on this resolution was 139 for and 74 against it. As it required a two-thirds majority, it failed.

The Chapter in the discipline on Slavery was amended and passed, 154 to 57. It was as follows:

3. Resolved, By the Delegates of the several Annual Conferences, in General Conference assembled, that the following be, and hereby is, substituted in the place of the present Seventh Chapter on Slavery.

Question:—What shall be done for the extirpation of the evil of Slavery?

Answer:—We declare that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of Slavery. We believe that the buying, selling, or holding of human beings as chattels, is inconsistent with the Golden Rule, and with that Rule in our Discipline which requires all who desire to continue among us to "do no harm, and to avoid evil of every kind." We therefore affectionately admonish all our preachers and people to keep themselves pure from this great evil, and to seek its extirpation by all lawful and Christian means.

The *Principia*, a thorough abolitionist paper, edited by the Rev. W. Goodall, has the following remarks on their action:

"How much, or whether any thing, has been given to the cause of anti-slavery, by the action of the late Conference at Buffalo, is a question on which the friends of the cause will, of course, differ. The great danger, we think, is, that this action will be regarded a finality, and that Methodist abolitionists, instead of being encour-

aged to insist on further action, will be persuaded to content themselves with what they think they have already gained. The *Northern Independent* takes a hopeful view, which we copy below. But it strikes us that the desirable thing for the purification of the M. E. Church is, not that they should be excommunicated or abandoned by the angry men-stealers, but that the Church should excommunicate them."

The Hon. C. Sumner's great speech on the "Barbarism of Slavery" had caused a profound sensation. On the 11th of July he delivered another oration, on the "Necessity of the Republican Party," at the Cooper Institute, New York. It was enthusiastically received.

An exciting debate had taken place in the Senate, on the Navy Appropriation Bill, in the course of which the sincerity of the British Government, in putting down the slave-trade, was called in question. It was alleged that she only captured Africans to convert them into labourers for her colonies.

The *National Anti-Slavery Standard* of July the 7th, contains the following generous paragraph, on the subject of an abusive article in the *Independent*, against the Secretary of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, for exposing the pro-slavery tendencies of the Rev. Dr. Murray. The letter referred to is quite beneath L. A. Chamerovzow's notice, but he is grateful to the Editor of the *Standard* for his manly vindication of him.

"The spirit of the *Independent* is clearly revealed in the characteristic article which we copy from its columns this week, under the pro-slavery head. The gross personal abuse which it pours out upon the head of the Secretary of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* will serve, we think, to open the eyes of such anti-slavery people of Great Britain as have heretofore confided in the representations of that mendacious journal. The offence of Mr. Chamerovzow, for which he has incurred this tempest of 'evangelical' malignity, consists simply in the fact that, in the discharge of his official duty, he has sought to enlighten the British public respecting the pro-slavery character and antecedents of certain American clergymen travelling in that country, and especially those of the Rev. Dr. Murray, of Elizabethtown, N. J., who is well known in this country as a pro-slavery man of the *New-York Observer* school.

"The *Independent*, after discharging its volley of pious abuse, wipes its mouth and says, 'We have no sympathy with Dr. Murray in his position on Slavery.' English abolitionists, we think, will not be slow to infer that the 'position on Slavery' of Dr. Murray must be very bad indeed, since that journal is constrained to say that it has no 'sympathy' therewith. Mr. Chamerovzow will hardly need any further evidence to justify himself, in the eyes of English abolitionists.

for his efforts to expose the character of the Elizabethtown 'wolf in sheep's clothing.' "

WEST INDIES.—The immigration of black and coloured people from the United States and Canada, is being discussed by the JAMAICA press. The project has found favour. The *Themis* had arrived at Savanna-le-Mar, out 105 days from Calcutta, bringing 400 Coolies. Fifty-five had died of cholera during the voyage. She had also brought forty Africans from St. Helena, who were at once distributed among the planters of Westmoreland.

An interesting trial has occurred in BARBADOS, the result of which has been a decision, by the Court of Appeal, that labourers engaging to do a particular kind of work, such, for instance, as cutting canes, cannot be compelled to perform any other.

His Excellency, Governor Hincks, is being roundly abused by the *Grenada Chronicle*, because he will not sanction the importation of Coolies, unless the Lieutenant-Governors of the islands under his administration are in possession of positive applications from planters for them. Governor Hincks' policy, however, cannot but be approved of by all unbiassed persons.

The TRINIDAD newspapers are advocating an extended immigration. The Chinese are now in favour, and it is proposed to import 3000 a-year. As these would cost 30*l.* a-head, it is suggested that the ways and means should be provided for carrying out a system of Chinese immigration by the issue of debentures to the amount of 100,000*l.* to 200,000*l.* The revenue, however, is not in a satisfactory state, and another proposal had therefore been canvassed, namely, to raise the amount by some new general tax, on the plea that the planters cannot possibly be taxed any more. No decision had been come to, but the injustice is so flagrant, of throwing the cost of immigration upon the labouring population, that we hope this will be abandoned, and the planters who apply for the immigrants be made to pay the whole cost of their introduction. Meanwhile the *Appleton*, from Calcutta, had arrived, with 377 Coolies. On the voyage sixty of the Coolies had died of cholera and dysentery.

Mr. S. J. Cockburn, late immigration agent at Barbados, has been appointed to the office of President Administering the Government of Montserrat. Mr. J. Nibbs Brown of Grenada had also been offered the situation of Police Magistrate for the island of Abaco, in the Bahamas.

The Governor of BRITISH GUIANA has been knighted by the Queen. It had been decided that his Excellency should be requested to apply for 4500 Coolies and 3000 Chinese for next season. Several vessels with immigrants had arrived. The barque *Minerva* came in on the 23rd of May, from

Hong-Kong, 102 days out, with 307 immigrants. During the passage only three deaths took place. On the 27th the ship *Gosforth*, 95 days from Calcutta, brought 329 immigrants; and was followed next day by the ship *Thomas Hamlin*, also from Calcutta, out 109 days with 302. In sad contrast with the slight mortality on board the *Minerva* is that which occurred on the two last named vessels, the *Gosforth* having lost no less than 91 people and the *Thomas Hamlin* 76. On the arrival of the latter, the number was stated to be 84, but as only 381 immigrants were shipped, and as there were 305 on board, the deaths can only have amounted to 76. Such fearful mortality has never yet been even approached. The ship *Thomas Mitchell* from Canton came in on the 9th June, with 250 Chinese, and the ship *Latona* on the 12th, with 317 Calcutta Coolies. The *Thomas Mitchell* did not lose a single passenger, but 48 deaths took place on board the *Latona* during the voyage.

Governor Wodehouse had taken steps to ascertain the cause of this dreadful mortality, and in the case of the *Thomas Hamlin*, had stopped payment of the money claimed or due on the importation of the immigrants. The introduction of refugees from Canada had been mooted, and a public meeting upon the subject proposed, but no active steps had yet been taken to carry out the proposition.

PARLIAMENTARY RECORD.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(June 8th.)

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Mr. CAVE said an unusually favourable opportunity now presented itself of striking a blow at that detestable traffic, which for so many years had been the disgrace of Spain, and had entailed a vast expenditure upon this country. In 1857 and 1858, the noble lord, then, as now, at the head of the Government, adopted two of the most effectual measures which had ever been resorted to for the suppression of the slave-trade, in despatching a squadron of steam gunboats to the Coast of Cuba, with instructions to take ships which might be captured without papers into a port, not of Spain, where the negroes would be virtually retained in a state of Slavery, but into a British port, where they would be at once set at liberty. The employment of steam gunboats fell like a thunderbolt on the small but energetic section of American citizens who had embarked their capital in the slave-trade; and in order to save themselves from ruin they endeavoured to procure the recall of the gunboats by concocting a series of complaints about insults offered to the American flag. The Government and the officers of the American navy, he believed, were sincerely desirous of putting down the traffic, but the people of that country were so sensitive about the right of search, that even if the Administration were willing to admit any such proposal, it would be met with a perfect storm of opposition by the nation. The utmost efforts of Lord

Malmesbury, who had exerted himself with great ability to procure a modification of the treaty, had only drawn forth a long argumentative despatch from General Cass, which did not advance the question one iota. But in the *Times* of Tuesday last the President of the United States was represented to have concluded his Message to Congress on the 19th of May with the following observation :—

"It is truly lamentable that Great Britain and the United States should be obliged to expend such a vast amount of blood and treasure for the suppression of the African slave-trade, and this when the only portions of the civilized world where it is tolerated and encouraged are the Spanish islands of Cuba and Porto Rico."

It seemed monstrous that year after year, and in defiance of the most solemn treaties, Spain should continue to carry on this traffic, in the teeth of America and England. He thought some plan of co-operation might be established between the two countries. America was now bound by the Treaty of Antwerp to have eighty guns employed in the suppression of the slave-trade; he believed half that number would be more efficient if mounted on board light steam-vessels. If America would unite with England in keeping a squadron of gunboats on the coast of Cuba, the importation of slaves might be entirely cut off.

MR. KINNAIRD asked the Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether any representations had been made to the American Government relating to a co-operation on the part of that country with the Government of England, by which the vessels of the United States might cruise in company with Her Majesty's ships. This joint action might make up for the defects in the law, and by the co-operation this iniquitous traffic might be put down.

LORD J. RUSSELL.—As to the question of the hon. gentleman in regard to the slave-trade, it is a subject that must always interest the House of Commons. It is unfortunately true that the slave-trade is still extensively carried on by Cuba. I believe from 30,000 to 40,000 slaves are annually brought into that island from Africa; and it is perfectly true that this trade is carried on in contempt and violation of treaties between this country and Spain. The increase of the traffic arises from various causes: one is the jealousy of America as to any interference with ships bearing the American flag; another cause is the imperfection of the American law. In the English treaty there is an article by which vessels equipped for the slave-trade can be seized by English cruisers; but there is no such provision and no such power given to the American cruisers by the American law. Therefore, vessels on the coast of Africa, though completely equipped for the traffic, and waiting off the harbours to embark a cargo of slaves, if they are seen under the American flag, cannot be interfered with by our cruisers, and if they are pointed out to an American cruiser it is also unable to interfere with the vessel, because, having no slaves on board, there is no provision in the American law to justify the seizure. There is another imperfection of the American law in regard to vessels carrying no flag or papers. A slaver off the coast of Cuba having no flag can be seized by an English cruiser; but if she de-

stroys her flag and papers she cannot be seized by an American cruiser. Her Majesty's Government has proposed to the United States a plan of co-operation, by which English and American cruisers sailing together, one would be able to seize slavers bearing the American flag, while the other could take those slavers which show no flag at all. That proposal is now under the consideration of the American Government, but we have never obtained from that Government a promise to amend their law in the particulars to which I have referred. I fear those statements are well founded, according to which it is not likely any proposition to make the laws against the slave-trade more stringent would at present obtain the sanction of Congress. But the question has engaged the attention of Her Majesty's Government, and a despatch I propose to transmit to the different Powers, will explain the state of the law on the subject. It is certainly shocking and mortifying to reflect, that after we have done so much, we have not been able totally to destroy the slave-trade. There is one point in which I do see a prospect of some good being effected. The hon. member has made an allusion to China. No doubt the kidnapping Chinese by the most atrocious means, and removing them from their country, is to be equally condemned as the slave-trade. But there is this distinction between this practice and the African slave-traffic. Wherever the slave-trade exists in Africa there have been previous wars, man hunting, horrible and constant destruction of villages, and the ruin of that degree of civilization it is always the object of the British Government to promote. The case of the traffic from China is different. There the people are highly civilized, under the protection of severe laws, and the governors and persons in authority exercise very sufficient powers. It has been thought better to employ the agency and aid of the Chinese authorities, to put an end to this kidnapping, and to substitute for it a system of voluntary emigration, of which great numbers of persons in China are ready to avail themselves. In this direction, by acting together with other nations, I see some prospect of improvement. When we compare the state of things which now exists in the case of the slave-trade with that which several years ago prevailed, and the diminution which the traffic has undergone, we are afforded the consolation that there is no just reason for abandoning the hope that it may be ultimately altogether abolished.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

(June 25th.)

BRITISH CONSULSHIP AT MOZAMBIQUE.

Lord STRATHEDEN rose to move a resolution in favour of the establishment of a Consul at Mozambique. He had, he said, postponed the motion till that day in order to secure the presence of the right rev. prelate (the Bishop of Oxford) and of the noble and learned lord (Lord Brougham) whose labours in connexion with the anti-slave-trade movement were so well known. In 1854 the British Government determined to appoint a consul at Mozambique; in September, 1856, the consul left this country for Africa; and in 1858, in consequence of certain circumstances which occurred on the spot, he quitted the station.

In the autumn of that year an important controversy connected with the consulship arose between the governments of France, Portugal, and Great Britain, and since then the office had remained vacant. The question of the re-establishment of this consulship resolved itself into two considerations:—first, was the original appointment justified? and, second, had the grounds upon which it was made been subsequently strengthened or removed? Independently of the advantages of such an appointment in a commercial point of view, it was demanded for the prevention of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa. The squadrons which we maintained in that quarter could not efficiently act as a check on the slavers without the co-operation of consular authorities. Consuls had been stationed at various points along the coast. At the capital of the Portuguese possessions on the West Coast a British consulship had been established, and had proved of great use. There was no less necessity, he contended, for a similar appointment at Mozambique, the chief Portuguese station on the East Coast. The Viceroy at Mozambique was exposed to temptations and influences so strong and peculiar that nothing but the presence of a British Consul could support him in an anti-slave-trade policy. The Viceroy was strongly tempted to connive at, if not to participate in, the nefarious traffic for the sake of a share in the profits, and he was surrounded by a circle of men whose sympathies and habits led them to look with great indulgence on a system of which they had received the gains, and were insensible to the dishonour. It had been found also that it was utterly vain and idle to control the slave-trade on the West Coast of Africa as long as they allowed it free vent on the East Coast. On these grounds, therefore, the Government appeared to be justified in the appointment of a Consul at Mozambique. Experience had confirmed the propriety of that step. When Mr. M'Leod, on whom the office was confirmed, reached Mozambique, he found that an insurrection of the natives had taken place against the Portuguese authorities, in consequence of their resentment at the attempt which had lately been made to revive the slave-trade in the interior of Africa. Mr. M'Leod also found the French "free-labour system" in active operation, and did not want conclusive proof that coercion was resorted to. There was evidence, in fact, of a powerful conspiracy having been formed which the Consul had explained, to show the efficacy of the step taken by the Government in 1854. The presence of the Consul was, in fact, felt to be the death-blow to the traffic on which the profits of the slave-traders hung. What did Mr. M'Leod achieve during the last brief and troubled year of his presence? He was not useless to the lawful commerce he was sent out to promote, for two vessels engaged in lawful trade, with British property on board, were given up to his remonstrances. He effected the dismissal of the governor of a small neighbouring Portuguese settlement, who had been guilty of something more than collusion with the slave-trade. He prevented three French vessels from shipping slaves from the Eastern Coast of Africa. He engaged the Viceroy of Mozambique in an energetic opposition to the slave-trade, carried on under the name of "free-labour." It was the

presence of the British Consul on the East Coast of Africa, between July 1857 and May 1858, that elicited from the Emperor of the French a manifesto against that compulsory traffic which the French Government carried on in the name of free-labour. What followed the departure of the British Consul? Major Rigby, our Consul at Zanzibar, writing to the Government of Bombay three months after the departure of the British Consul at Mozambique, stated, that from the coast of Mozambique to the south of the station where he resided the slave-trade had acquired a vivacity and magnitude unknown in former times, which was altogether attributable to French arrangements. An American ship had left Mozambique with a negro cargo of 1200 men for Cuba. On the 12th of August two French ships of war arrived from the French settlement of Bourbon, the commanders of which attempted to persuade the Sultan of Zanzibar to permit the export of negroes. The British representative was appealed to, and his counsel prevented the Sultan from acceding to the proposition. A French merchant-ship from the colony of Bourbon embarked some negroes, who overpowered the French crew, but permitted them to escape in their boats. He wished their lordships to read the last volume published by the Foreign Office on the subject of the slave-trade. It was clear that great gloom was felt by the commanders of our African blockading squadron; they complained that upon the West Coast of Africa they encountered unprecedented obstacles. Both policy and reason, therefore, led us to rely rather upon preventing the negroes from being embarked than upon their capture before arriving at the place of disembarkation. All the evidence pointed to the value of our consular establishments on the coast of Africa, and established the fact that the French labour-system was reviving in the interior of Africa those horrors against which Great Britain had for so many years waged war. Several of the Powers of the world had arrayed themselves against the slave-trade in consequence of the exertions of Great Britain, and if our voice were mute those Powers would relax in an opposition which nothing else had called into existence. We might not be silenced towards Spain and Brazil, but we should be silenced towards France and Portugal by the continued absence of a British Consul from Mozambique. When the French Government were remonstrated with on the subject of the slave-trade their answer would be, that we had no authoritative witness to speak to what occurred, and we should be bound to take such information as the French Government chose to give of what passed on those coasts and in those waters. In the case of Portugal we would be still more completely silenced. Hitherto British influence had been strongly felt in Portugal; but now they could not only say that we had no authoritative witness of what was passing on the coast of Mozambique, but that our zeal for the suppression of the slave-trade was open to the charge of suspicion. The leading men of Portugal would remember what occurred in 1857-58; that they did then act upon our views, and endeavoured to abolish the slave-trade in the form in which it then existed; that they incurred great risks and sacrifices, and that in consequence of their so acting they exposed their

own capital to menace and their courts of justice to oppression, but that they were not to be expected to tread the same arduous and difficult path again, while the British Government remained inactive, and without even being represented by a Consul on those coasts. If the appointment of this Consul was objected to on the ground of expense, he would reply that a vote of their lordships' House, whether wise or unwise, had placed at the disposal of the British Government an income far exceeding what the establishment of a Consulship at Mozambique and the means of its defence would cost. The persecutions of which our Consuls in past times had been the victims arose from temporary causes, one of which was the absence of our cruisers, and he believed that the expense of protecting any Consul that might now be appointed from violence would not be very considerable. It might be said that, admitting the propriety of such an officer being placed at Mozambique, the time for doing so was not material, that it might take place three, four, or five years hence; but he could not think that such a plea would be accepted by their lordships. The late Consul at Mozambique had proved incontestably that nothing but a radical and thorough reformation in that place could put an end to the slave-trade on the coast. The reformation he pointed at was that well-known and established slavedealers should be banished, and that the Governor-General of Mozambique should receive such a salary from the Portuguese Government as would make him independent of the fees arising from the slave-traffic. The reformation so desirable, and which this country only could extort from Portugal, could only be carried out at the moment when a new Governor-General was appointed to Mozambique. That event would take place in the coming autumn. The present Governor-General, who had been appointed for three years, would retire in the ordinary course of things in autumn, and a new Governor-General would be sent out. It was then only that the necessary reforms could be carried into effect, and he hoped, therefore, Her Majesty's Government would show no delay in the appointment of a Consul. There was one argument which he did not think could be used by the Government, but which might have weight with some persons—that if we had no Consular authority on that part of the coast the risk of collision between the French and English Governments would be diminished. It was known that there was a strong desire in the Island of Réunion to obtain additional negro labour from the East Coast of Africa, and that there were not wanting in France persons who sympathized with the desire. He contended that the proposition that the alliance between the two nations would be promoted by the absence of an English Consul was untenable. Nothing would be more fatal to that alliance than a suspicion in the minds of the people of this country that the price we were to pay for it was a cessation of our efforts to suppress the slave-trade. Notwithstanding many rude shocks, that alliance had been maintained; but if it were believed that its continuance depended upon the abandonment of our efforts to put down this dreadful traffic, the whole moral and religious sentiment of the country would be arrayed against it. That sentiment would be justified

by reason, for the alliance could only be regarded as an instrument of policy, while the deliverance of Africa from the oppression of the slave-trade was one of the highest objects a nation could aim at. The instrument of policy might be replaced, but nothing could justify the abandonment of our engagements towards Africa and the world. He admitted there was one class of reasoners who might fairly oppose the reappointment of a Consul at the point he had referred to; and that class consisted of those who ten years ago advised both Houses to withdraw our squadron and to terminate our efforts on the coast of Africa. But if the spirit of 1801, of 1807, when the slave-trade was abolished, of 1810, when it was made a felony, and of 1824, when it was stigmatized as piracy—if that spirit still remained, we must support the efforts of our squadron by the authority of a Consul. In conclusion, he would point out that his motion was framed expressly to avoid implying any censure upon the Government for not having filled up the vacancy to which he had referred. The motion only aimed at obtaining from the Government a distinct and satisfactory assurance that a Consul should be sent to Mozambique to meet the new Governor-General. If the assurance were not given on the present occasion, he hoped the other House would succeed in extorting it; but if both Houses should fail, then he was sure that the subject would be taken up by the press and the country. The noble lord concluded by moving that an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to be graciously pleased to appoint a consul at Mozambique, with a view to promote the interests of commerce and the execution of the slave-treaties between Great Britain and Portugal upon the slave-trade.

Lord WODEHOUSE assured the noble lord that if the Government objected to his motion for an address, it was not because they were insensible of the importance of the matter. It was true that the appointment of a Consul was only one small portion of the arrangements that were made for preventing an extension of the slave-trade, but that appointment naturally brought the whole question of Slavery on the Eastern Coast of Africa, in which their lordships must all feel a deep interest, under the consideration of the House. The noble lord had correctly stated the circumstances which led to the appointment of a Consul at Mozambique by the noble earl below him. The Consul proceeded to his post, and remained there until 1858. He regretted that the noble lord should have thought it necessary to enter into details as to the conduct of Mr. M'Leod, because although he (Lord Wodehouse) did not wish to discuss the circumstances which led to that gentleman quitting his post, yet it was necessary to say that he could not agree with the noble lord that all the acts of Mr. M'Leod were wise or discreet. That gentleman was undoubtedly active and zealous, and impressed with a deep sense of the horrors of the slave-trade, which he used his best efforts to repress, but, having read his despatches and the book he had subsequently published, he (Lord Wodehouse) did not think Mr. M'Leod's conduct had been characterized by that judgment which was as necessary as zeal in such a difficult position. He did not think it necessary to refer to the particular circumstances which led to the

vacancy further than to say that he thought the noble Earl (Malmesbury), then Foreign Secretary, was justified in not sending Mr. M'Leod back to his post after he had returned so precipitately to this country, and left it vacant. Having seen Mr. M'Leod, he had no wish to disparage his character as agent of the Government, but he certainly did not think that gentleman's qualities rendered him peculiarly suited for the post he had filled. A question naturally arose, however, whether a Consul should be maintained there at all. The noble lord had stated that it was absolutely essential, in order to support the representations which Her Majesty's Government made from time to time to the Portuguese Government, as well as to support the Portuguese authorities at Mozambique, that a British agent should be stationed there. Those of their lordships who had read the papers which at various times had been presented respecting the slave-trade on the East Coast of Africa, were probably aware that the circumstances attending the Portuguese possessions there were very peculiar. In point of fact, the Portuguese had only three or four, or at the utmost five, establishments on the coast, their sovereignty over the district being acknowledged by a treaty signed in 1817 between this country and Portugal. In order to prevent the slave-trade from being carried on, it would not only be necessary that the Portuguese authorities should exert themselves with the object—and he would not say that they had not the will to do so; certainly the Government had—but it would be necessary that they should hold a position which would enable them to act with more effect, because really the Portuguese Government exercised extremely little control over the native population along the coast. That being so, it had been matter for serious consideration in what manner the slave-trade, which undoubtedly did prevail to a great extent on the Eastern Coast of Africa, could be suppressed; and he was convinced that the only way of effectually preventing it was by leading the natives in the interior, by whom the slaves were brought down to the coast, to engage instead in lawful commerce. In order to promote the object it was necessary to familiarize them with the trading pursuits with which we were acquainted; to shew them the advantage of turning to account the fertility of their soil; and to let them see that they might derive larger profits from lawful commerce than from the illicit and the infamous traffic which now occupied them. All these objects were said to be accomplished by the expedition of Dr. Livingstone; and, as the letters which had been published proved, Dr. Livingstone had met with very considerable success. He could not say that he himself was so sanguine as to hope that all Dr. Livingstone's anticipations could be fulfilled, but he did believe that what had been done by that gentleman gave good promise for the future. Under these circumstances, the Government thought they could not do better than still further to encourage his efforts; and they had therefore this year proposed to the House of Commons a largely increased vote for the expedition. The expenditure for the present year had been 3000*l.*; the proposed additional annual expenditure for three years was 2500*l.*; and the extraordinary and temporary outlay proposed was

6000*l.*, making altogether 11,500*l.*, of which 5000*l.* was for a suitable vessel. With this additional aid Dr. Livingstone's efforts to induce the natives to engage in lawful trade would have a fair chance of success; and he thought they ought to wait to see the result of this large expenditure, and of Dr. Livingstone's expedition, before making further arrangements for the suppression of the slave-trade. Perhaps the Consul at Mozambique might give useful assistance in putting down this traffic, and his noble friend (Lord J. Russell) did not say that at some future time it might not be advisable to reappoint a Consul there; but having now two separate agents in that country, it might only lead to confusion, and defeat instead of promoting the object in view, if that course were taken. The only effectual mode of putting down the slave-trade was, he repeated, by leading the natives to engage in trade. The efforts of our cruisers, although attended with a partial success, could never completely put a stop to the traffic; but if the natives could be taught the benefits resulting from lawful commerce—and this had already been done to a very considerable extent—the foundations for the ultimate suppression of the traffic would be laid. He must add, however, that the real root and source of the evil was to be found on the other side of the Atlantic, and that as long as the Spanish Government did not act up to their solemn engagements in Cuba—engagements which, if they chose, they might with perfect facility perform—the best efforts of the British Government to put an end to the infamous slave-trade must fail. He grieved to add, that the most recent accounts from Cuba shewed a great development of the traffic, and that it was carried on in the most organized manner. Cuba was now the only spot in the world where the slave-trade could be said to prevail; and it was matter of the deepest concern to all that Spain had not done her utmost to prevent a traffic which was disgraceful to humanity, and which in the long run would not, he believed, further her own interests. Upon the grounds he had stated he hoped the noble Lord would not persevere in his motion. The subject commanded the best attention of the Foreign Secretary, and whenever his noble friend thought it desirable to reappoint a Consul at Mozambique he was prepared to do so.

Lord BROUGHAM entirely concurred with his noble friend in his view of the necessity of cultivating those commercial and agricultural relations with the East Coast of Africa, from which, above all other things, the best hope of extinguishing the slave-trade arose. But, instead of considering the motion of his noble and learned friend (Lord Stratheden) inconsistent with such an object, he believed that the appointment of a Consul was essential for its accomplishment. What prospect was there of inducing the natives to engage in commerce and agriculture if there was a body of Portuguese official agents of high rank and great influence, who, over the whole 1200 miles of coast, themselves engaged almost openly in the slave-trade? That was the fact. The salary of the Governor of Mozambique was paid in such a way that he had a direct interest in this trade. He received a trifling salary of 900*l.* a-year, which was greatly less than his necessary expenses, and all the rest was paid by

the council, if, indeed, even that poor salary was not so paid, which he believed it was, and the council was composed of notorious slavetraders and their agents. Of the present governor he did not speak, but his predecessor certainly took an active part in the traffic. He was paid so much a-head upon all the negroes shipped, and his agents up the country were paid so much a-head, in proportion to the success of the slavetraders there. The native slavetraders were suffered to carry on their execrable traffic, by paying to these agents a certain per centage upon the negroes brought down to the coast; and then the agents, their salaries from the Government being insufficient, eked them out by the profits of the slave-trade, and were, therefore, themselves almost avowedly concerned in these guilty courses. Portugal had engaged to put down the slave-trade, but the agents interested in it continued these illegal practices, and there was no vigilance exercised over one side, and no comfort or assistance given to the other. The extension of agricultural and manufacturing knowledge was undoubtedly of the greatest importance as calculated gradually to extinguish the slave-trade; but in the mean time it must be recollected that the profits of selling men were far greater than the profits of selling cotton. So long, then, as men were allowed to be sold in the interior, the native chiefs, as was found on the West Coast, would not only lend no encouragement to, but would prevent the development of the agriculture of the country, and of the little manufacturing knowledge already possessed by the natives, for they to a certain extent span some of the cotton which they grew. Until the Portugese honestly and fairly performed the obligations they undertook in respect to the slave-trade, so long would the development of the resources of the country be checked. However, it was not merely of the Portugese Government that complaint had to be made, for there was still more reason to complain of the Spanish Government, against which the case was strong and irresistible. From the papers laid before their lordships, it would be found that in 1858, according to the statement of the commissary judge at the Havannah, fifty slavetraders had left Cuba in two months in that year for the coast of Africa. The average of slaves on board each of these fifty vessels was 600. The number varied from 450 to 1000, but taking the average at 600, it would appear that in the course of two months vessels were despatched to Africa for the frightful amount of 30,000 slaves. He did not mean to multiply that number by six, and to state that the result would represent the amount of slaves for whom vessels were despatched in the course of the year, for he knew that no such calculation could be made; but it appeared plain that in the course of two months 30,000 slaves were shipped from the coast of Africa. It was stated by Commodore Wise that the slave-trade was taking a frightful extension on the coast of Africa; that new and formidable combinations of capitalists and joint-stock companies, called expeditions to Africa, were formed, and so openly, that on the Havanna Exchange the shares of these joint-stock slave-trade companies were openly advertised, and the price was 1000 dollars a share. Thus this infernal traffic was reduced to a system. The way in which it was carried on appeared to be

this:—A vessel cleared out from the United States with a crew of naturalized Americans, who, being really foreigners, were not subject to the American law declaring the slave-trade piracy. These men aped the manners of the Americans as well as spoke their language, so that the commander of an American cruiser was deceived by them, and could not discover that they were foreigners; but when the same commander visited the vessel for the purpose of stopping it, then, of course, the crew suddenly became foreigners. They then proceeded to the Havanna, got a fresh set of papers there, the market price of which was 5*l*. or 6*l*., and after obtaining all the requisite fittings up of a slave-trader, steered to the coast of Africa. The extent to which the exportation of slaves from Africa was carried was atrocious. The noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in making a statement on the subject, that 35,000 to 40,000 were imported into Cuba yearly, gave vent to his feelings, and his predecessor in the Foreign Office, in a despatch to the British Minister at Madrid, Mr. Buchanan, observed that if Spain honestly performed her treaty engagements, the traffic in human beings would cease, and that the flagrant violation by the Spanish authorities of the engagements contracted with this country must tend seriously to impair those friendly relations which it was so desirable should be maintained. How, it was said, could Spain put a stop to the slave-trade? He would answer that question by putting another. How could Brazil put a stop to the slave-trade? The Spanish Government had as much power over the authorities of Cuba as the Brazil Government had over its own authorities, and Brazil, to her infinite honour, had completely abolished the slave-trade. The number of condemnations in the Vice-Admiralty Court of Sierra Leone before 1851 was sixty. Since 1851, when Brazil abolished the slave-trade, the number came down to twelve, and at last to three. In short, as far as captures and condemnations on the coast were a test, the Brazil traffic had ceased. The Brazilian Government and people had shewed great kindness and consideration for the negro race, and he thought their example might well be imitated in other parts, particularly in the North. In Brazil a man, be he of ever so sable a colour, provided he was emancipated, was capable of enjoying any public trust, and was in all respects, and in legal relations also, on the same footing as a white man. When he mentioned this, he wished he could read to their lordships a letter which his right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer had lately received from a negro gentleman in Liberia. The gentleman's name was Edward Bryden, and the consul of Liberia informed him that his respectability was undeniable. He was engaged in the honourable office of teaching, and his quotations from Latin and Greek showed that he had, as he represented, devoted himself to the study of the ancient as well as the modern languages. It was to be hoped that his right hon. friend would be prevailed upon to give that letter to the public, and it would then be admitted that a better composed or better reasoned letter was never written. It was addressed to his right hon. friend as a testimony from the author of the respect which he felt for those qualities for which his right hon. friend was so distinguished, for his

eloquence, for his statesmanship, and for his great classical attainments. He concurred in every word of eulogy addressed to his esteemed friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he had no doubt that in common candour every one who read the letter would feel as he felt as to the ability of the writer, and the justice of his tribute to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's great merits. This was not the only instance. A negro gentleman, who had been educated in this country, at Cambridge, was a distinguished public speaker, and another negro gentleman who came from Cambridge, in the United States, was equally distinguished for the same quality. He had also had the pleasure of receiving a letter from a mulatto gentleman in the island of Barbados, which did him great credit for the composition as well as the sentiments which it contained, and that gentleman was in this country, making his way to be called to the bar. When he saw the great prejudices which prevailed in some parts of the world upon a matter of colour—he particularly alluded to the United States of America—he was put in mind of an anecdote which his friend Lord Lyndhurst as well as himself could mention. There was a Louisianian gentleman of great ability, who was the envoy of the United States, first in the south of Europe, and afterwards at the Hague. In consequence of an acquaintance made abroad, he met Lord Lyndhurst at his (Lord Brougham's) house, and he told them that he had made a tour in Cuba, and having become acquainted with a negro country gentleman, who lived in a magnificent house, was entertained sumptuously for three days. He said to his host, "I am very much obliged to you for the hospitality which I have received, and I thank you for it." The negro Cuban gentlemen replied, "I am a person above all prejudices. When I find a man like you—well educated, well bred, and well principled—I hold out the right hand of fellowship to him, if he be as white as that table-cloth." He hoped and trusted that their friends in the United States would some day adopt the same liberal opinions as this negro country gentleman, and that they would hold out the right hand of fellowship to every well educated, well principled, and well bred man, if as black as the hats on their heads. He knew that some time would elapse before that happened, but he lived in hopes that a gradual improvement would take place. We might fear they were far from it when we read the astounding decision of the Supreme Court, in the United States, in the case of "Scott v. Sanford," commonly called the Dred Scott case. If he had not read the report with his own eyes he could not have believed it. It had actually been laid down as law, that what was called the Missouri compromise was unconstitutional, and not to be attended to, consequently that the province of Illinois was not to be considered a Free State, notwithstanding that compromise. It was also broadly asserted that no African, having once been a slave, or his descendants, however remote, could have the privileges and rights of a native citizen. Their lordships would hardly believe it unless he read the words of the decision, which he did, from the able work of Mr. Edge, entitled "Slavery Doomed." The Chief Justice, giving the opinion of the Court, laid it down—

"That neither the class of persons who had been imported as slaves, nor their descendants,

whether they had become free or not, were acknowledged as part of the people; that they had for centuries been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and were altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; that so far inferior were they, that they had no rights which a white man was bound to respect; and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to Slavery for the white man's benefit."

It was on this doctrine, so execrable as to be almost incredible, that some of the States had last year come to a resolution that persons of colour should either be reduced to Slavery or driven from their homes. It was in vain to expect any very active co-operation from the United States in the abolition of the slave-trade, while they entertained such prejudices. Something they had done. They had made a few captures, but they were very few indeed. They had declared the slave-trade to be a capital offence, and if they would really carry the law into effect, all those fraudulent representations as to naturalization, by which offenders generally escaped, would vanish. Let them only bring the captain or some of the crew on board of any of the slavers to trial, and they would very soon discover by previous investigation, that the whole system of fraud was of no avail to them, and that they were in reality American subjects. He by no means desired to see capital punishment resorted to; but one or two sentences, dealing with the prisoners according to the terms of the municipal law, and inflicting the severest punishment short of death, would at once put an end to all frauds. A correspondent had sent him some information as to the slave-trade in Cuba. The thing which chiefly attracted his attention, and filled him with horror in that traffic, was the determination of the Cuban planters not to continue the race by breeding, but, for the sake of economy, to work them out. Accordingly, they brought few or no women from Africa. Another thing which struck him very much in the letters he had received, was, that vessels of great value were thrown away, as if of little consequence, after the slaves were disembarked. Owing to the immense profits of the trade, they could afford to lose a ship if they had landed the human cargo. It was calculated that the profits of this detestable traffic amounted to 1400% per cent. on the capital invested. If any thing were wanting to increase their horror of such a trade, it would be such an account as he had recently seen reported. A slaver was run ashore in stormy weather to avoid our cruisers. The crew quitted the ship, and when the captain of one of our vessels went on board of it, the sight that met his eyes was, he declared, fearful and heartrending in the extreme. The slaves, escaping from the noisome abode in which they had been confined, rent the air with horrid yells, and flung themselves by hundreds into the sea, so that it was with the utmost difficulty that out of the 1200 who formed the cargo, 340 or 350 were saved, and of these, forty died in the course of twenty-four hours from the hardships they had suffered. So that 900 miserable beings out of 1200 were thus sacrificed to this infernal traffic. He remembered only one case worse than that which he had just cited, and that happened upon the East Coast. A vessel full of slaves was chased, and on the point of being taken. The

atrocious miscreant who was captain, and his crew got into their boats and left the vessel, after having first set fire to it, with the intention of destroying the poor wretches who were at once the witnesses and victims of their crime. It was a subject of poignant regret that the attempts which had been made to put down the slave-trade among our allies, the Portuguese and the Spaniards, should have proved so entirely unsuccessful in alleviating the miseries of the slaves. Atrocities, it was to be feared, were now committed in consequence of the attempts to stop the traffic that exceeded even the horrors of the middle passage. If we had forfeited much of the influence which we might have employed for the suppression of the slave-trade, there was at least one influence which it was in our power to exert in regard to the Spaniards. They were entitled by treaty to have their wines and other goods admitted to our country on the footing of the most favoured nations; but they were also bound to abolish the slave-trade, and we might very properly refuse them the benefit of the treaty if they did not fulfil their engagement as to the slave-trade.

The Bishop of OXFORD confessed that he had heard with very great disappointment the announcement made by his noble friend that it was not considered fitting at present to appoint a Consul at Mozambique. The grounds which he assigned for that decision did not carry conviction to his mind. His noble friend dwelt principally on the circumstance that at this moment Dr. Livingstone, in the neighbouring quarter of South Africa, was endeavouring, by opening up a legitimate commerce, to produce the same effect which the residence of a Consul at Mozambique was expected to accomplish. No man felt more than he did the great importance of Dr. Livingstone's efforts, and the singular capacity of the man for bringing them to the most successful issue. But he was convinced, from his own study of the question, that unless Dr. Livingstone's efforts, in the interior and up the rivers of that part of Africa were backed by the Consular influence of England at the port of Mozambique, they would practically be almost neutralized. The immediate consequence of Dr. Livingstone's discovery of the southern branch of the mouths of the Zambesi had been the establishment of a Portuguese Custom-house, as if to impede the flow of legitimate traffic in that direction. It was as plain as possible that the representatives of the Portuguese nation in that quarter desired nothing so ardently as to prevent the rise of any legitimate commerce, because they feared that it would supplant the slave-trade. Therefore, unless there was an authorized representative of the British Government at that critical point, Mozambique, there was no doubt whatever that the Portuguese would be able to defeat our efforts for the abolition of the traffic. His noble friend said it should be taken into account that the Portuguese Government had, comparatively speaking, little power to check the efforts of the native chiefs to carry on the slave trade, and that therefore it must not be assumed, from the extent of the trade, that the Portuguese Government were really not anxious to put it down. He feared there was too much reason to believe that it was the direct influence of the emissaries of Portugal that led the native

chiefs to maintain the slave-trade. The line of coast was provided with signals, which were said to be sometimes repeated by the fort of Mozambique itself, giving warning of the approach of English vessels that were coming to capture the slavers. There was no doubt the rise of a legitimate trade would be more productive than the unlawful trade, but a strong temptation presented itself to uneducated and unprincipled men, of getting large and immediate profits upon the export of slaves, which temptation was further strengthened by the great facilities and encouragement given by the agents of the Portuguese Government to the traffic. It might be that the Portuguese Government at home were kept in the dark, because the only inducement that he could see for continuing the present system was, that it enabled that Government to give miserable salaries to their representatives, who made it up by winking at the slave-trade. If, however, a representative of the British nation were stationed at Mozambique, these enormities would be exposed in the face of Europe. The Portuguese Government would then send men of higher honour to this coast, and the efforts of the slavetraders would be paralyzed. We were now like a man who, in putting out a fire, was content to tread out one patch of flame, which was instantly fekindled from another quarter. The Government were asked for no expensive armaments; but on that coast, and for an object for which Great Britain was spending such large sums and lavishing so many lives, Her Majesty's Government were asked to place a consular representative, who might bring to bear upon Portugal those claims of humanity which Portugal had acknowledged in treaties, but which she suffered her governors to set aside. What had ruined Mozambique itself? Why had there not been poured into Portugal from her African settlements riches far greater than she had obtained from Brazil? Because the slave-trade wasted the resources of the country. It was, therefore, as much the interest of Portugal as of any other Power to put a stop to the present system. The English people had incurred a vast and peculiar responsibility in having mainly enabled the Portuguese to keep their almost nominal hold of that coast through the assistance which this country had given them. He trusted that the resolution of the Government, as announced by the noble lord (Wodehouse) would not be final; that it would be reconsidered; and that so great a boon to humanity and justice would not be refused in this critical day of the attempt to ameliorate the condition of the African.

The Duke of SOMERSET feared that the eloquent speeches which their lordships had heard would unfortunately have very little effect in those quarters where only they could be of use. The right rev. prelate had attached an exaggerated value to the appointment of a Consul at Mozambique, as if that were the only great thing required to put an end to Slavery on one side of Africa. But that was a mistaken view. He had seen reports from many officers who had arrived both from the East and West Coast of Africa. He regretted to say they agreed that the slave-trade had been increasing on both coasts. As long as our cruisers were not able to visit vessels that carried all the appurtenances of the slave-trade,

because they carried the flag of some Power that claimed exemption from the right of search, their vigilance was frustrated. When the American flag was hoisted, our cruisers could not touch a vessel, and the captain defied them. The East Coast of Africa was becoming almost as bad as the West. Emigration and other questions of a somewhat delicate character had arisen, and he could shew the House that the slave-trade was in various shapes as rife as ever. The only effectual way of stopping it was at Cuba. Until that was done, French and American flags would be hoisted, and our cruisers would be set at defiance. He did not say that these vessels were French or American, but they were nominally so. In many cases they obtained the rights of American citizens in order to carry on the slave-trade. With these facts established, it was idle to attach so much importance to the establishment of a Consul at Mozambique. He did not say that hereafter a Consul might not be appointed on that coast, but the best hope he had was that America had lately sent out steamers to this coast with an earnest desire on the part of the American Government to co-operate with our cruisers on the West Coast, and to deal with the false American vessels that assumed the American flag.

LORD BROUGHAM said he had heard that the captain of a Cunard steamer—a line of mail packets that had, from first to last, received something like 500,000*l.* of the public money—had positively refused to receive any first-class passenger who had the slightest tinge of African blood. A lady in whose face he could detect no trace of African lineage, was lately refused a first-class cabin by the captain on the ground he had stated.

EARL GRANVILLE trusted that his noble friend (Lord Stratheden) would be induced to withdraw his motion after the explanation that had been given by his noble friend (Lord Wodehouse). The question was one which might be left to the discretion of the Executive Government, especially with reference to the time at which a Consul should be appointed. He was unwilling to negative in express terms the motion of the noble lord, as it might give an erroneous impression that there existed lukewarmness on the part of the Government with reference to the suppression of the slave-trade. No one, he was sure, could doubt the sincerity of the Prime Minister, or the noble lord the Foreign Secretary, in their desire to put down that traffic; and he hoped, therefore, that his noble friend would consent to withdraw his motion.

The Bishop of Oxford expressed a hope that the noble lord would divide the House. If the motion were agreed to, it would go forth as an expression of the opinion of their lordships that the appointment of a Consul to Mozambique was a step that should be taken at once.

LORD STRATHEDEN said no member of the Government had employed language which could lead him to hope that the appointment of a Consul to Mozambique was contemplated as a step likely to be soon taken, and no attempt had been made to shew that the slave-trade could be checked on that coast till a Consul was appointed. He was, therefore, under the necessity of dividing the House.

The House then divided: the numbers were, contents, 11; Non-contents, 6; Majority, 5.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 1, 1860.

THE CUBAN SLAVE-TRADE.

DEPUTATION TO LORD BROUGHAM AND LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

ON Saturday, the 14th July ult., a deputation of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* waited upon the Right Honourable Lord Brougham, at his residence in Grafton Street, to confer with him upon the subject of the slave-trade to Cuba, and the means to be resorted to, with a view to its suppression. The deputation consisted of Messrs. G. W. Alexander, W. Allen, R. Alsop, T. Binns, Joseph Cooper, Josiah Forster, Robt. Forster, Henry Sterry, Samuel Sturge, and L. A. Chamerovzow. Mr. C. Buxton, M.P., Mr. Consul M'Leod, Mr. C. A. Berkely (Tobago), and the Reverends Dr. Burns, Wm. King, from Canada, and Henry Richards, accompanied the deputation. The whole subject having been fully discussed, it was agreed to endeavour to procure an early interview with Lord J. Russell, and Lord Brougham kindly made the application on behalf of the deputation.

On Wednesday the 18th, the day appointed by Lord John Russell, the following gentlemen, headed by Lord Brougham and by Mr. C. Buxton, M.P., had an interview with Lord John Russell, at his official residence in Downing Street, namely: Messrs. Thos. Binns, Robt. Alsop, Josiah Forster, and L. A. Chamerovzow. Mr. Commissioner Hill, Recorder of Birmingham, introduced by Lord Brougham, Mr. Consul Hanson, from the Sherbro River, and the Rev. R. Greswell, of Oxford, accompanied the deputation, which, owing to the shortness of the notice given by Lord John Russell,* was very much less numerous than it would otherwise have been. Lord Brougham having stated the case to Lord John Russell, Mr. Josiah Foster, Mr. C. Buxton, Mr. T. Binns, and Mr. Alsop, supported his Lordship by referring to the evidence in the Parliamentary Papers last published, as confirming the worst accounts which had been received, of the present extent of the traffic, and submitted that the Committee were of the view that it was time Her Majesty's Government took some decided measure to compel Spain to fulfil her slave-trade treaty obligations. Mr. Binns urged that the Committee could not believe but that Her Majesty's Government had the power to accomplish this object, if they thought fit to exercise it. L. A. Chamerovzow explained, that the present

* His Lordship's reply was not received until ten o'clock in the morning of the day appointed for the interview.—ED. A.-S. R.

deputation had waited upon Lord John Russell in consequence of a suggestion thrown out to that effect, by Lord Brougham, at the conference held at his Lordship's house the previous Saturday. The result of the deliberations of the Committee was, a resolution to submit to Lord John Russell a definite proposition. The case against Spain was clear; the facts were admitted, and there was no question that since 1817, when the slave-trade treaty was concluded with that Power, and she received 400,000*l.* as compensation for giving up the slave-trade, she had flagrantly violated her engagements. Since the Convention of 1835, the slave-trade had been on the increase, with occasional interruptions; and at the present time, as Lord John Russell had himself stated in the House of Commons, Cuba imported from 30,000 to 40,000 slaves annually. Remonstrances, even of the strongest kind, were entirely thrown away: suggestions for augmenting the stringency of the laws against slave-trading were treated with contempt, and even the strong language of the Earl of Malmesbury, intimating the interruption of friendly relations between the two Governments, produced no effect. The Committee were of opinion that a country like England could no longer—without a loss of self-respect—permit so disgraceful a state of things, and they therefore respectfully submitted to his Lordship's consideration whether, with a view to convince Spain that Her Majesty's Government was resolved to enforce the fulfilment of the slave-trade treaties, an intimation could not be conveyed to that Power to the effect that, unless the slave trade to Cuba were at once stopped, the repayment with interest would be demanded of the 400,000*l.* paid to Spain in 1817; her wines would be exempted from the beneficial operation of the new treaty with France, and finally, that diplomatic relations with her would be suspended. It was notorious that the Captain-General of Cuba had ample power to stop slave-trading, and as he was only a nominee of the Spanish Government's for the time being, it would oblige him to do his duty. The Committee were quite prepared to advocate the adoption of such a measure, which they felt persuaded would, when the facts of the case were made known, receive the assent of their constituency and of the public.

Lord John Russell admitted that the case against Spain was as bad as it could be. He had only recently addressed the Spanish Minister upon this subject, and he felt that something ought to be done. He was glad the Committee of the *Anti-Slavery Society* had recommended a decisive course, though he could not pledge himself to adopt it. Spain, however, was not the only Power

committed to the slave-trade. The American flag covered it to a large extent, and the absence of the right of search increased the difficulty of dealing with slavers on the open sea. A proposition had been submitted to the American Government to permit her men-of-war to cruise in company with our ships, so that what one could not do, the other might. He thought, however, that nothing short of an honest purpose on the part of Spain, to put down the slave-trade, would really accomplish that object, and the recommendation of the Committee should receive his careful attention.

The Deputation having thanked his Lordship, then withdrew.

THE SLAVE-TRADE AS IT IS.

FORTY THOUSAND SLAVES ANNUALLY TO CUBA.

THE Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* would earnestly call attention to the following facts:

Since 1815, Great Britain has expended, upon an average, more than One Million Pounds Sterling, annually, or, in other words, more than FORTY MILLION POUNDS STERLING, in attempting to put an end to the slave-trade.

On Friday, the 8th June instant, Lord John Russell made the following statement in the House of Commons:

"It is unfortunately true that the slave-trade is still extensively carried on to Cuba. I believe from THIRTY THOUSAND to FORTY THOUSAND slaves are ANNUALLY brought into that island from Africa, and it is perfectly true that THIS TRADE IS CARRIED ON IN CONTEMPT AND VIOLATION OF TREATIES between this country and Spain."

The Slave-trade Papers last published, set forth in what manner this abominable trade in men and women is at present carried on. It is more perfectly organized than it has ever been at any previous stage of its history. This is how it is done.*

Joint-Stock Companies, designated "Expeditions to Africa," are formed by some of the wealthiest firms at Havana, New York, Boston, and New Orleans. These transactions are so public, that the shares of these Slave-trading Companies are quoted on the Exchange at ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS EACH. The capital thus amassed is placed in the hands of an agent, who employs it in the purchase of convenient vessels, and the obtaining of crews for them. These are usually composed of foreigners, but who have lived so long in America that they

* The foregoing statement is Condensed from the despatch of Commodore Wise to Rear-Admiral Sir F. Grey, and is dated from on board the *Venusius*, Cabinda, August 6th, 1858.—Slave Trade Papers, 1859. Class A. page 176.

have acquired the manners and the appearance of Americans. They are provided with protections, purchased from Americans; and when the vessel on board of which they are shipped is cleared at the Custom-House, their protections are shewn with the papers of the vessel which is cleared as *bonâ fide* American. Her register, however, and papers are usually obtained by fraud. ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS is the ordinary price for a complete set. They are so well got up that they not unfrequently deceive officers of the United States' cruising squadron. The slaver usually proceeds to the Havana. Here she takes on board her water, slave-coppers, slave-deck, and often a cargo of rum and muskets, to barter for slaves. In many cases these slave-trading vessels have two crews: one apparently American, the other designated as passengers. Some have correct American papers. At the Havana, however, they receive their Spanish "passengers;" and immediately before shipping, the Spaniards take charge of the slaver, though still hoisting the American flag. Arrangements are made for the reception of the American crew in a legal trader, or in a vessel conniving at the traffic, but not directly engaged in it. Then they start on their voyage.

Slavers proceeding to the West Coast of Africa are generally consigned to one or other of the veteran slavedealers formerly employed in the Brazilian trade, or to Portuguese and American agents. These men have charge of the barracoons, purchase slaves, and watch the cruisers. The money and goods for the purchase of the slaves have been previously sent out to them in vessels not liable to capture. These agents employ every device to put the British cruisers on the wrong tack. They telegraph the position or change of each vessel along the coast, and in the neighbourhood of cruisers light fires upon the shore, the smoke of which, as a signal of danger, may be seen fourteen miles out at sea. If the coast is clear, the slaver runs in and lands her supercargo, then puts off to sea again, cruising well off the land, and returning to ship her slaves some twenty days after arrival. On standing in for this purpose the fires warn her of danger.

On reaching Cuba, every arrangement is already made for landing the slaves and carrying them off. Days before the slaver is expected, look-outs are posted to signalize her coming. Sometimes the Government steamers are employed to transfer the negroes from the slaver to shore. Here they are received by their new owners, and hurried away at once to the plantations. The registration is evaded by obtaining false *cedulas*, which cost from £5 to £7 10s. each. The whole of the Cuban authorities connive at the traffic, and receive bribes for so doing.

The profits of the trade are immense.

Formerly, if one vessel in three escaped, the result was a gain to the slavedealer. Under the new system of joint-stock slave-trading speculations, the chances of loss are greatly diminished, for the more vessels that are despatched the smaller the risk. It is calculated that if one out of six escape, the proceeds arising from the sale of the cargo of the remaining vessel leave an immense profit, after paying all expenses. In 1857, the profits of the slave-trading companies were estimated Fourteen Hundred per cent.

The returns of the naval officers on cruiser service, and of H. M. Consuls, shew that about one-third of the number of vessels engaged in the slave-trade are captured every year. The infamous traffic has thus been reduced to the level of an exact science. In two months only, March and April 1858, fifty vessels cleared out for the coast of Africa, from Havana, all equipped for the slave-trade, and others were ready to follow. For the year 1858, the number of clearances had greatly exceeded those in previous years. Each vessel carries, on an average, Six Hundred and Fifty slaves; some one thousand, some only three or four hundred. The average number computed to be landed in Cuba, from each, is Six Hundred. They are sold at an average price of £200 each, but are bought on the South Coast for £4.

The naval officers declare that, under the present system of carrying on the trade under the American flag, "every exertion to suppress the traffic is unavailing." They say that "the most undoubted slavers, under American colours, have been visited by Her Majesty's officers, and been left unmolested, because their instructions did not permit of their proceeding to search." Commodore Wise writes thus, to the Secretary of the Admiralty, on the 4th July 1858:

"With regard to the slave-trade on the West Coast of Africa, and the progress made towards its suppression, I regret to state my belief that it is now conducted on a scale fully as formidable as it was ten years back."

Rear-Admiral Sir F. Grey thus writes to the same gentleman, from Sierra Leone, on the 11th February of the same year:

"In conclusion, I have only to remark, that for many years back, the prospect of putting down the slave-trade has seldom been less encouraging."

And thus, Commodore Wise, to the Secretary of the Admiralty, dating from Lagos, 28th October 1858:

"In the coming year, I feel convinced that the most vigorous efforts will be made by the trans-Atlantic slavedealers, and if they extend their enterprise to the Bights of Benin and Biafra, farewell to the remuneration and rapidly-increasing trade which is now carried on on that coast. The above

are painful truths, but must necessarily be disclosed."

Again, Rear-Admiral Grey, to the Secretary of the Admiralty, Simon's Bay, 12th November 1858:

"It is impossible to disguise the fact, that the present aspect of affairs is more gloomy than for many years, and that the duty imposed upon Her Majesty's officers has been rendered much more difficult by the cessation of all co-operations on the part of France and America."

Her Majesty's Commissary-Judge writes as follows, to the Earl of Malmesbury, dating from Havana, 31st December 1858:

"The enormous increase of the slave-trade, within the year this day ended, has doubtless occupied your Lordship's attention, since the extensive preparations for its being carried out upon an extended scale were reported by me long ago; but there seems to be no diminution of the activity and means which are employed by the slavers, whose efforts are encouraged by their continued success, and their finding no difficulty in landing and passing the newly-imported negroes on through the country to the States. Such is the nature of the corrupt arrangements which the power of money enables them to make with the Spanish authorities."

The Earl of Malmesbury had previously written to Mr. Buchanan, British Minister at Madrid, dating from London, June 23rd, 1858, to the following effect:

"These reports,* which are confirmed by others received from Her Majesty's naval officers, leave no room for doubting that the slave-trade is now carried on, in Cuba, to an extent little, if at all, inferior to that which prevailed before Spain bound herself, by treaty, to put a stop entirely, and for ever, to the traffic in slaves in the Spanish possessions."

Evidence of this nature might be multiplied, but it is unnecessary. It is sufficient to have the Foreign Secretary's admission that "from Thirty-six Thousand to Forty Thousand slaves are annually landed in Cuba," and this, after more than forty years' effort to suppress the traffic, and the expenditure of upwards of Forty Millions sterling, besides the loss of thousands of lives, and numerous costly vessels-of-war.

The time has arrived when something must be seriously attempted to put an end to this awful state of things. The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* have suggested to Lord John Russell, to demand of Spain the immediate cessation of the slave-trade, or to intimate that Great Britain will require the re-imbusement with interest of the £400,000, compensation-money paid to Spain in 1817, for her discon-

tinuance of the traffic, and the cessation of diplomatic intercourse. They appeal to the friends of humanity throughout the country to aid them in this direction. Public opinion is powerful. Let it declare itself on this subject.

OUR COTTON SUPPLY.

EXCEPTION has been taken by a few of our friends, to the strictures which we passed upon the Manchester manufacturers, in our last article on cotton supply. Far be it from us to allege, that amongst them there are not some earnest and sincere abolitionists, who are grieved to find our national industry depending upon the produce of slave-labour: who desire, upon purely philanthropic grounds, the annihilation of Slavery: who would not unite in a purely moral effort for that object. But not the less true is it, that the free-trade party are, as a party, responsible for the imposition of the Sugar-Act of 1846, which equalized the duties on slave and free-grown sugars, seriously damaged the prospects of our West-India proprietary, and gave an extraordinary stimulus to the enterprise of slave-owners in Cuba and in Brazil. We are glad, indeed, to accept the co-operation of the Manchester and Liverpool interest, even though we may not be able to admit the unselfishness of the motives which induce that party to promote the movement for the extension of the growth of cotton. But in the prosecution of a cause like that of the abolition of Slavery, we must thankfully accept aid, from whatever quarter it come, in the firm belief that every agency is of value, and will be permitted to work for good. If, however, we have judged severely the manufacturing interest, we are not disposed to stop short in our strictures. Our manufacturers are, after all, not to be blamed for supplying articles in general demand, manufactured from slave-grown cotton. The purchasers are the most culpable parties, for they create the demand; and the sincerity of the anti-slavery sentiment of the masses in this country may reasonably be called in question by slaveholders, as well as our right to denounce the latter as man-stealers, so long as we keep up the demand for the raw staple grown by slave-labour. On the other hand, we must not too severely censure the masses, for even amongst professing anti-slavery friends, few, very few, make their practice accord with their avowed principles; or, in other words, act consistently, by abstaining, as far as it is practicable, from the use of slave-grown produce. The masses, therefore, are not likely to be more consistent than their teachers. Though, however, we speak the truth, we do not consider ourselves open to the charge of uncharitableness. We

* Those of Mr. Consul Crawford.

accept the facts as they present themselves, and reason from them. We do not hold ourselves responsible for any thing more than their logical application.

Amongst the modes which have been suggested for obtaining a larger supply of cotton, is that of growing it through the instrumentality of companies. Two for doing so in Jamaica and in the East Indies have even reached the embryo stage of a prospectus. We consider such experiments as involving consequences too serious to permit us to withhold an opinion upon their practicability. If they do not succeed, free-labour is disparaged. If they do, it is not benefited, and a monopoly is created which is likely to become highly dangerous in its results to the interests of the labouring population.

In the first place, a Company supposes a Board of Directors, a staff of officials, an officer, a constituency of shareholders, and generally, a complicated machinery of management. Now, the salaries of the officers of the Board, rent, travelling and miscellaneous expenses, interest upon the purchase-money of the property, of the plant and machinery, allowance for wear and tear, labour, cost of local management, are all so many first charges, which must be met before a profit can be ascertained; nor must insurance to cover the risks to the crops, which all growers of raw produce incur, be lost sight of. Let it be borne in mind that "profit" or a "dividend" is the bait held out to induce capitalists, great or small, to invest in the shares of a Company. The management—keeping "profit" always in view—must necessarily take the very deepest interest in the question of wages. It will—nay, in the very nature of things, it must—seek to obtain the largest amount of work for the smallest amount of pay. It will, therefore, do just what the planters do, and it will do wisely. It cannot do otherwise. The lower the wages, the larger are likely to be its profits. It will not, for mere philanthropy's sake, pay sixpence a day more to a labourer who may complain that a shilling is not enough, and who prefers working for himself. If it succeed in attracting the labour which the planters cannot command, it is clear that an excess of supply ought to involve a decline in the rate paid for it. Of this no one could complain. The result would be only the natural effect of an economic law. But profits would lead to extended operations, and in course of time the Company would monopolize the available labour, and become a formidable competitor in the market, with the planting interest, for any kind that might be procurable. Nay, its interest would lead it to try to keep down the price of wages, and we should soon find it foremost amongst the advocates of an unnatural, that is, a forced immigration. Again; whatever pro-

fit the Company obtained, would be so much wrung from the labourer, while its operations would tend to keep him always in subjection. It would represent merely the planting interest, consolidated into a body corporate, and retaining all the instincts of its prototype. A cotton-growing Company would therefore—at least according to our view—be a most undesirable organization, in so far as the true interests of the free-labourer are concerned.

We do not consider it to be our province to dwell upon the chances of profit which such an enterprise holds out. Nevertheless, we may touch upon the subject, with a view to shew that they are remote.

Cotton has gone out of cultivation in the West Indies, because sugar-growing has been found to be much more advantageous. It is reasonable to suppose, if our West-India planters were satisfied they could make money by the cultivation of the cotton-plant, that they would engage in it. If, however, experience has proved that the contrary is the fact—and the abandonment of cotton-estates establishes it—is it to be supposed that a Company, with heavy first charges to provide for, is likely to be more successful? No Company is needed to prove that the East or the West Indies are capable of supplying the very fine, as well as the most useful sorts of cotton. The question to solve is, whether in the West Indies they can now be grown at a profit? It is an admitted fact, that the plantation system is the most expensive; yet a Company must go upon that system, and no other. In the cotton-growing districts of the United States, the slaves are largely employed on other crops, pending the growth and ripening of the cotton-plant, and thus is economized a large proportion of labour, which would otherwise remain unoccupied, simply because cotton, as a main crop, does not require continuous attention. A cotton-growing Company must, therefore, either waste a considerable amount of labour, or be prepared to engage in other agricultural pursuits; and as sugar is a highly profitable one, and as profit is the chief object it has in view, it stands to reason that it would soon follow the example of the planters, and abandon cotton for sugar-growing, unless it found a means of carrying on both simultaneously.

But though the chances are all against the profitable cultivation of cotton by a Company, it does not follow that, therefore, it is not to be grown by free-labour far more economically than by slave-labour, or than by free-labour on the plantation system. Free-labour demands, as it implies, perfect liberty; and to grow cotton successfully by it, the people must themselves enter upon its cultivation. Let but a market be once opened for the raw material; let facilities for cleaning it but be established; let only

encouragement for industry in this direction be held out, and we do not despair of seeing the peasantry of our West-India colonies commencing a system of garden-cultivation of the cotton-plant, capable of indefinite extension. It is upon this plan such enormous quantities are grown in Africa and in India. If a Company, with a heavy expenditure for first charges, can grow the staple at a profit—as the promoters of these proposed West-India cotton-growing associations seem to think—it is evident that the native peasantry can accomplish the same feat far more successfully; and if any Company at all be needed, it is one which, starting with a small capital, should confine its efforts to supplying the Creole growers with seeds and gins, and other implements, taking produce in return, and contenting itself with its fair market profits upon it. It has been our privilege to suggest this idea to several missionaries, whose field of labour is in the West Indies, and we have the satisfaction of knowing, that the first attempts are being made to give it a trial, and that as far as they have gone, they promise to be very successful. Mr Thomas Clegg's memorable experiments at Abeokuta are based upon this principle; and the striking results which have already been attained there, encourage the belief that, tried elsewhere, they would prove equally successful. Were a West-India cotton-growing Company started, and were it to fail in a commercial sense, a most serious injury would be inflicted upon the cause of free-labour *versus* slave-labour; and were it to succeed, it would, as we have striven to shew, only degenerate into a huge monopoly, antagonistic at the same time to the interests of both planters and labourers.

In submitting these reflections, we disclaim any intention of hostility to those who may be engaged in promoting the establishment of cotton-growing Companies for India, East or West. We know that many most earnest, energetic, long-tried friends of the anti-slavery cause have turned their attention in this direction, and may perhaps feel disappointed that we do not encourage their efforts. But the larger and more serious question, of the interests of a whole population, must not be allowed to be absorbed in the lesser one, of the promotion of individual hobbies. The time has arrived when every effort made must be a serious one; and it is, therefore, imperative to guard, as far as it is possible, against failures of any kind, but especially of schemes set on foot by the anti-slavery party.

SPEECH OF OWEN LOVEJOY.

WE do not deem any apology necessary for occupying a great portion of our space with the speech of the Hon. Owen Lovejoy, of

Illinois, recently delivered in the United States House of Representatives. The speaker is a brother of the martyr, Elijah P. Lovejoy, and the speech is the boldest and most thoroughly anti-slavery that has yet been delivered in Congress. The paroxysm of fury into which it threw some of the slave-holding members may be judged of from the interruptions it occasioned, and some of the most violent men were on the point of committing violence upon the honourable member.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

The House being in committee of the whole, on the state of the Union,

Mr. Lovejoy said—

Mr. Chairman—The House has been occupied for several days in the discussion of the subject of polygamy. The Republican party, of which I am a member, stands pledged, since 1856, to the extermination, so far as the Federal government has the power, of the twin relics of barbarism, slavery and polygamy. They have this power in the territories of the United States. Now, sir, as we anticipate a death-blow has been given to one of these twins, I propose to pay my respects to the other. I want to see them both strangled and go down together, as they both richly deserve.

I am aware that the practical question presented to this House and to the country is, whether Slavery shall be extended beyond its present limits; as that is the only question over which they have exclusive jurisdiction. And if Slavery were contented to remain restricted, and find its future where it now is, we might perhaps forbear this discussion. But when it is proposed to extend what is termed an institution, but which is not an institution—which is simply a practice—the question naturally arises, what is the nature, what are the influences, and what are the elements of this practice? and what will they prove to be if allowed expansion? I am aware it has been stated upon this floor that the *morale* of Slavery is settled; that its ethics are no longer to be discussed; that they were settled ages ago by the Stagyrte of Greece, and have been re-affirmed and re-established by the chancicler Solon of Ohio, in rhetoric gorgeous as sunset's glow. We are told that where Slavery will pay, slaveholding will go. Precisely upon the same principle we might say, that where robbery will pay robbery will go; where piracy will pay, piracy will go; and where adipose human flesh is cheaper than that of beeves, cannibalism will go, because it will pay. Sir, than robbery, than piracy, than polygamy, slaveholding is worse—more criminal, more injurious to man, and consequently more offensive to God.

Slaveholding has been justly designated as the sum of all villany. Put every crime perpetrated among men into a moral crucible, and dissolve and combine them all, and the resultant amalgam is slaveholding. It has the violence of robbery.

A member—You are joking.

Mr. Lovejoy—No, sir; I am speaking in dead earnest, before God, God's own truth. It has the violence of robbery, the blood and cruelty of piracy; it has the offensive and brutal lusts of po-

lygamy, all combined and concentrated in itself, with aggravations that neither one of these crimes ever knew or dreamed of. Now, Mr. Chairman, the justification of Slavery is placed, so far as I know, mainly upon these grounds, the inferiority of the enslaved race, the fact that enslaving men imparts Christianity and civilization to them, and, thirdly, the guarantees of the constitution. These are the three main arguments presented to justify Slavery, and consequently to justify its expansion. And, by the way, I hold that the extreme men, as they are called, on this question, are the only men who have the logic of it. I am right, or the fire-eaters are right. If Slavery is right in Virginia, it is right in Kansas. If it is wrong in Kansas, it is wrong everywhere.

Now, sir, in regard to the first point—the inferiority of the enslaved race. We may concede it as a matter of fact that it is inferior, but does it follow, therefore, that it is right to enslave a man simply because he is inferior? This, to me, is a most abhorrent doctrine. It would place the weak everywhere at the mercy of the strong; it would place the poor at the mercy of the rich; it would place those who are deficient in intellect at the mercy of those that are gifted in mental endowment. The principle of enslaving human beings because they are inferior is this: If a man is a cripple, trip him up; if he is old and weak, and bowed with the weight of years, strike him, for he cannot strike back; if idiotic, take advantage of him; and if a child, deceive him. This, sir, is the doctrine of Democrats, and the doctrine of devils as well, and there is no place in the universe outside the five points of hell and the Democratic party where the practice and prevalence of such doctrines would not be a disgrace. (Laughter.) If the strong of the earth are to enslave the weak here, it would justify angels in enslaving them, because they are superior; and archangels in turn would be justified in subjugating those who are inferior in intellect and position, and ultimately it would transform Jehovah into an infinite Juggernaut, rolling the huge wheels of his omnipotence—

[Mr. Lovejoy here advanced into the area, and occupied the space fronting the Democratic benches. Mr. Pryor, of Virginia, came menacingly towards him, exclaiming, "The gentleman from Illinois shall not approach this side of the house, shaking his fists, and talking in this way he has talked, &c." Great excitement followed, with frequent interruptions of the speaker.]

Finally, Mr. Lovejoy (taking his place in the clerk's desk) resumed.

Mr. Chairman—I was about stating, when interrupted, that the principle upon which slaveholding was sought to be justified in this country would, if carried out in the affairs of the universe, transform Jehovah, the Supreme, into an infinite Juggernaut, rolling the huge wheels of his omnipotence, ankle-deep, amid the crushed, and mangled, and bleeding bodies of human beings, (laughter on the Democratic side,) on the ground that he was infinitely superior, and that they were an inferior race.

Mr. Gartrell (in his seat)—The man is crazy.

Mr. Lovejoy—The second ground upon which it is attempted to justify Slavery, or slaveholding is, that it is a mode of imparting Christianity and civilization to the slaves. Mr. Chairman, I

would like to know how slaveholding communities can impart that of which they are not in the possession? The truth is, that the practice of slaveholding has a powerful tendency to drag communities back to barbarism. It is actually having that effect upon the Slave States of this Union; and were it not for the Christian women that have gone from the Free States and intermarried in the Slave States, and were it not for those noble women of the States, that preserve womanly purity and Christianity, in spite of the unhappy influences of slaveholding, the Slave States to-day would be as far back in barbarism as the State of Mexico. It is simply from that infiltration—

Mr. Singleton—I wish to know if the gentleman intends to cast any insinuation or slur on the women of the South? I want to know that distinctly and emphatically, because if he does I will hold him personally accountable for it.

Several Members—Oh, no; he gives all praise to the women of the South; he compliments them.

Mr. Singleton—I repeat that, if he intended to asperse Southern women, or to compliment the women of the North at their expense, I will hold him accountable for it.

The Chairman—The gentleman from Mississippi is not in order. The gentleman from Illinois will proceed.

Mr. Lovejoy—It is simply by this contact with free communities, it is, as I said, from the fact that Christian women went from Free States, and that the Christian women of Slave States, who have not the poor privilege that Sarah of old had, of sending the Hagars and Ishmaels to the wilderness, maintained their purity and Christian character, and their testimony against the system, that they were prevented from that retrogression towards barbarism.

Several Members—That is what he said before.

Mr. Lovejoy—Sir, if you step into the Smithsonian Institute, or into the Patent Office, you will find implements of husbandry imported from Japan and China, shewing just about the same development in civilization as the implements that you find on the plantations. Now, sir, the truth is, that the practice of slaveholding drags slaveholding communities further below the plane of the Christian civilization of the age, than the civilization which the slave receives elevates him above the plane of heathenism, by being held in these Christian communities. Sir, how do they impart civilization and Christianity? It is a strange mode of christianizing a race, to turn them over into brutism without any legal marriage. Among the four million slaves in this country, there is not a single husband or wife. There is not, legally, a single father or child. There is not a single home or hearthstone among these four millions. And you propose to civilize and christianize a people without giving them homes, without allowing them the conjugal and parental relations, and without having those relations sanctioned and protected by law.

Mr. Chairman, no community can make one step of progress in civilizing a race till you give them homes; till you protect the sanctity of the home, as we hold it should be protected in regard to these Mormons on the plains of Utah. Christianizing them, sir! Christianizing them by a new process. The Slave States have a right to

an exclusive patent for it. Taking them out in the sight of the church, as one was taken out not long ago in the State of Tennessee, by a Presbyterian elder, and laid down on his face on the ground, his hands and feet extended to their utmost tension, and tied to pickets, and the Gospel whipped into him with the broad side of a hand-saw, discoloured whelks of sanctification being raised between the teeth every time this Gospel agency fell upon the naked and quivering flesh of the tortured convert. (Laughter.)

A Democratic Member—Did he get the Gospel in? (Laughter.)

Mr. Lovejoy—Christianized as a young girl was christianized in this city since the session of Congress, by being whipped and sent to the garret, and found dead in the morning with blood oozing from nose and ears.

A Democratic Member—Where does that authority come from?

Mr. Lovejoy—I do not know whether religious rites were had or not. I suppose some pro-slavery priest was invited in to utter prayers before God that the last flagellation might have whipped in Christianity enough to save her precious and never-dying soul. (Laughter.) And now, alarmed, a good black walnut coffin is made and decorated with white ribbons, and placed in the hearse, followed by a hack containing, I presume, the murderess; and my attention is called to the cortege: "See, Mr. Lovejoy, there is a slave funeral. Is that treating them like brutes? Look into the coffin; look into the carriage!" You say this is horrid. I know it is horrid. I know it is horrid to hold men in slavery. I know it is horrid to doom four million human beings to the condition of chattels, to be held *pro nullis, pro mortuis, pro quadrupedibus*, taken for no persons, for dead persons, for four-footed beasts, men as much entitled to freedom as you and I. Sir, the testimony of all religious societies in the Slave States is, that the slaves are still heathen, and it is an utter impossibility to christianize them and civilize them by this process.

The third point that is relied on to justify slaveholding is, that it is constitutional, that it is guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. Now, Mr. Chairman, I have heard it declared over and over again, that the Constitution guarantees Slavery. I deny it. In no article, in no section, in no line, in no word, in no syllable, can there be any recognition or sanction of human Slavery found in the Constitution of the United States. It is not there. It always recognises human beings as persons, and never as property. It does not use the word "slave," or "slavery." Why, sir, when I came up to take the oath to support the Constitution, a whispered buzz, half in earnest and half jocular, passed around, "How can Lovejoy swear to support the Constitution? How can he take the oath?" I could take the oath to support the Constitution, because I believe in the Constitution, because I hold to it, because my heart is loyal to it. Every part, and parcel, and portion of it I believe in; but I do not believe in the construction put upon it by those who claim its recognition and sanction of the practice of slaveholding.

Mr. Barksdale—No, sir; you stand there to-day an infamous, perjured villain. (Calls to order.)

Mr. Ashmore.—Yes, he is a perjured villain; and he perjures himself every hour he occupies a seat on this floor. (Renewed calls to order.)

Mr. Singleton—And a negro thief into the bargain.

Mr. Lovejoy—I swore to support the Constitution because I believe in it. I do not believe in their construction of it. It is as well known as any historical fact can be known, that the framers of the Constitution so worded it that it never should recognise the idea of slave property, from the beginning to the ending of it. But the advocates of Slavery have affirmed a strange doctrine in regard to the Constitution. They think that because I swore to support the Constitution, I swore to support the practice of slaveholding. Sir, slaveholding in Virginia is no more under the control or guarantee of the Constitution than Slavery in Cuba, or Brazil, or any other part of the world, is under the control or guarantee of the Constitution—not one particle.

Mr. McClernand—I wish to ask the gentleman whether he has always held that the Constitution deserved to be sustained and accepted; whether, at any time in his life, he held that the Constitution ought to be trodden under foot?

Mr. Lovejoy—Never, sir; never. I always defended it, and always will, whether it be against the Democrats who pervert it, or the disunionists who trample on it.

Mr. McClernand—If the gentleman says he never said so, I am not prepared to contradict him, for I know nothing, personally, about it; but I had understood that the gentleman once uttered this language—that "the Constitution was a piece of rotten parchment, that ought to be trodden under foot."

Mr. Lovejoy—Yes; that was thrown in my face once before here, and I denied it. It never had the least foundation in truth. I always defended the Constitution, because it was for liberty. It was ordained by the people of the United States, not by a superannuated old mummy of a judge, and a Jesuit at that, but by the people of the United States, to establish justice, secure the blessings of liberty for themselves and their posterity, and to secure the natural rights of every human being within its exclusive jurisdiction. Therefore I love it.

These men can perceive nothing in the Constitution but Slavery. A young man leads a blushing bride to the altar, and takes the marital vow before God and attendant witnesses to love, cherish, and protect her. There she stands, the divinest thing that God has fashioned and placed upon earth, radiant in the beauty of youth, her cheek glowing with the colour of the rose, which expands and fades away into that of the lily; her eyes sparkling like the stars from the depths of blue, and her tresses falling around her neck like the locks of the morning. Is the mole on that fair round neck, or the wart on that plump, soft hand, THE WOMAN whom the bridegroom swore to love and cherish? Say, sir, is it? So there is the Constitution, instinct with freedom, radiant with the principles of universal liberty, seizing the inspired utterances of our *Magna Charta*, and reducing them to practical and organic realization. Now, sir, I insist that if the clauses that are deemed to refer to the subject of Slavery mean all that the wildest enthu-

siast claims them to mean, they bear no other relation or proportion to the Constitution which I swear to support, than the excrescence on the hand or neck does to the woman whom the bridegroom vowed to love and cherish. He loves her not for these things, but in spite of them.

So I love the Constitution, not in consequence of these things, which are alleged to be in it, but in spite of them. But you will say, the woman had a right to sport an excrescence on her hand, if she chose. I concede it; and as a Federal law maker, I concede that the States have a right to sport this fungus of Slavery, because it is beyond my reach. But time rolls away. This youthful pair have years of middle age upon them. Olive plants have sprung up around the parent stem. The woman has gone mad. She gloats over the excrescence, which has spread, and covers her entire hand. She exclaims, "Husband, this is a dear, sweet darling of a wart, and I want to engraft it on the hands of all our daughters. I had it when I was married; you vowed to protect me, and I claim the right to transfer it to all the children. If you do not, I will go to Indiana, and get a divorce. I will dissolve the union between us." The husband, calm and firm, replies, "My dear, I have indulged you in this whim about your hand, because I took you for better or for worse, and I thought it was one of your individual rights, which I was not at liberty to disturb. But if you propose to transfer this deformity to the daughters, I say distinctly and decidedly, it cannot be done. This is my prerogative, and I must exercise it." So I say to the Slavery propagandists, who desire to transplant Slavery to the Territories, and thus fasten it upon the daughters of the Republic, "My dears, it cannot be done."

I say, therefore, Mr. Chairman, that there is no justification for this practice of slaveholding, from the fact that the enslaved race are an inferior race. No justification from the pretended fact that it imparts Christianity and civilization to them; and none in the guarantees of the Constitution. Now, there are some Christian men on the other side of the house. I want to put it to them, in all candour, for while I intend to speak of slaveholding with as severe terms of reprobation as I possibly can, I do not intend to offend any person individually, I want to know of you Christian gentlemen, how you are going to christianize men when you do not give them homes?

A member—Give them what?

Mr. Lovejoy—Homes; a legal sanction to the conjugal and parental relations. How are you going to christianize men whom you turn out to herd together like the buffaloes that roam upon the western prairies? You cannot do it.

It may be asked, sir, when I confess that I have no control over this matter, why discuss it, why talk about it?

Mr. Singleton—I want to know if the gentleman gives homes—

Mr. Lovejoy—I must decline to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. Singleton—I want to answer the gentlemen's question by asking him another. I want to know if he gives homes to the negroes he carries from the South to Canada and other places.

A Member—The negro he steals.

The Chairman—The gentleman from Mississippi is not in order.

Mr. Barksdale—I hope my colleague will hold no parley with that perjured negro thief.

Mr. Lovejoy—It is asked, why discuss this question? Why talk about it, when it is confessed that we have no constitutional power to legislate upon it? I will tell you, Mr. Chairman. It will be recollected that Mr. Webster once said, when speaking of the threatened interposition of Russia to snatch Kossuth from the protection of Turkey, for the purpose of sacrificing him on the altar of despotism: "Gentlemen, there is something on earth greater than arbitrary or despotic power. The lightning has its power, and the whirlwind has its power, and the earthquake has its power; but there is something among men more capable of shaking despotic thrones than lightning, whirlwind, or earthquake; and that is the excited and aroused indignation of the whole civilized world."

"The Avon to the Severn runs,
The Severn to the sea;
And Wickliffe's dust shall spread abroad,
Wide as the waters be."

To continue the quotation with a different application and a slight variation of the language, I say, gentlemen, if the blood of innocent men is taken by an absolute, unqualified, unjustifiable violation of natural law, what will it appease, what will it pacify? It will mingle with the earth, it will mix with the waters of the ocean, the whole civilized world will snuff it in the air, and it will return with awful retribution on the heads of those violators of natural law and universal justice. I cannot say when, or in what form, but depend upon it, if such acts take place, then Slavery must look out for the consequences.

Sir, before the public sentiment of the Christian and civilized world, I propose to hold up to universal reprobation this practice of slaveholding. I propose to hold it up in all its atrocity, in all its hideousness, just as gentlemen have been holding up the practice of polygamy, and reprobating it; and sir, that public sentiment of the civilized world will burn upon this practice of Slavery, and ultimately secure its removal in the only proper way, by the action of the Slave States themselves. This is why I discuss it.

Mr. Chairman, my time is passing away, and I must hasten on. I want to come to a few things that have been under discussion during the inchoate condition of the House, whilst this hall was echoing with ululations that would have drowned the lupine chorus of the Alps, of Helper, and John Brown, and incendiarism, the torch of the incendiary, and the knife of the assassin. One gentleman from Virginia stood up in his place, and wanted to know where there was a man who would endorse the Helper book. He wanted such a man, if there was one here, to stand up, that he might look upon the traitor. Mr. Chairman, I, for one, signed the paper recommending the circulation of the Helper book. I signed it intelligently. I was neither engrossed nor abstracted. I did it because I wanted to do it, and now, if the gentleman wants to look upon that kind of a traitor, *me, me, adsum, qui feci, in me convertite tetum*. I did it. I will sign a recommendation for the circulation of any book that I choose, without asking permission of the gentleman from

Missouri (Mr. Clark), or of any other gentleman in the house or out of the house. I will sign a paper recommending the circulation of the Bible or the Koran, Young's Night Thoughts, or Tom Moore's Anacreon, Jonathan Edwards on the Decrees, or Tom Paine's Age of Reason, just as I please.

I claim the privilege, as an American citizen, of writing my name and recommending the circulation of any and every book, without being held amenable to gentlemen upon this floor, or any where else. That is my answer in regard to it. I have more than that to say. I say nothing about some points in the book. I have no doubt that there is considerable bombast and fustian, and violence of language in it, because the author was educated in a Slave State, and the rhetoric which comes from that quarter is apt to have these characteristics. (Laughter.) But the philosophy, the gist of the book, is what? It is the address of a citizen of a Slave State to his fellow-citizens in regard to the subject of Slavery, recommending in substance the organization of a Republican party in North Carolina and in all the other Slave States. I hope to see that done, and I expect to see it done before very long. You may kill Cassius M. Clay, as you threaten to do, but "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." You may shed his blood, as you shed the blood of my brother on the banks of the Mississippi, twenty years ago, and what then? I am here to-day, thank God, to vindicate the principles baptized in his blood. You may shed his blood, and what then? A Republican party will spring up in Kentucky, and in all the Slave States ere long; and these disunionists and gentlemen whom you see so violent now, will be displaced by more moderate, and, if I may say so without being offensive, more sensible men.

I believe in that doctrine. I do not endorse every expression in the Helper book, for I have not studied every expression; but the philosophy of the book, the idea of organizing a party in the Slave States as against Slavery, I am in favour of it, and I expect to see it accomplished. What is the objection to the book? The objection is, that a citizen of the United States, an American citizen, addressed himself to his fellow-citizens in a peaceful way through the press; and for this you find fault with him, and say that he must be hanged, and that any man who signed a recommendation for the circulation of his book, is a "biting, blasting, burning, withering curse," and must not occupy that chair.

I want to know if it has come to this? Has not an American citizen a right to speak to an American citizen? I want the right of uttering what I say here in Richmond. I claim the right to say what I say here in Charleston.

Mr. Bonham—You had better try it.

Mr. Lovejoy—Yes, sir, I am going to invoke the aid of the General Government to protect me, as an American citizen, in my rights as an American citizen. I can go to England to-day, and in London, or any where else, discuss the question of Church and State; I can discuss the question of a monarchical government as compared with a republican form of government. I can do this any where in England, but I cannot go into a Slave State and open my lips in regard to the question of Slavery—

Mr. Martin, of Virginia—No; we would hang you higher than Haman.

Mr. Lovejoy—I cannot go to a Slave State and utter my sentiments to free citizens like myself.

Mr. Miles—Can you go to England and incite the labouring classes to murder the aristocracy, or to assassinate the Queen?

Mr. Lovejoy—I have no desire to, nor have I any desire to incite such things any where else; but I do claim the right of discussing this question of Slavery any where, on any square foot of American soil over which the stars and stripes float, and to which the privileges and immunities of the Constitution extend. Under that Constitution, which guarantees to me free speech, I claim it and demand it.

Mr. Bonham—I ask the gentleman why he does not attempt to assert this right?

Mr. Lovejoy—Yes, sir. The gentleman comes from a Slave State, in which they are in the habit of speaking of the labouring classes in the Northern States as "greasy mechanics," "filthy operatives," "small-fisted farmers," and they jeer at us worse than the slaves. This insulting language can be, and is, used in the Free States without molestation or injury. Yet they say, "If you come here and utter the sentiments which you sincerely believe, we will hang you."

If a mechanic from a Free State goes there, and utters the sentiment that he thinks, if they had more white labourers and fewer black ones, that labour in the South would be more respectable, what do you do with him? Denude him, scourge him, and, to intensify the indignity, you drive the knotted thong, by the hand of a slave, deep in his quivering flesh; then tar and feather him, and then put him on the cars, still naked, to be sent a long distance, and threaten with violence the man who has the compassion to give him a cup of coffee. And, finally, after being jeered at every station along the route, the victim of your cruelty, a free citizen, crawls into a stable and begs, stealthily begs, the cast-off clothes of an ostler, to hide his nakedness. You drive away young ladies that go to teach school; imprison or exile preachers of the Gospel; and pay your debts by raising the mad-dog cry of abolition against the agents of your creditors.

Mr. Barksdale—The meanest slave in the South is your superior. (Cries of "Order," from the Republican side.)

Mr. Martin, of Virginia—I hope gentlemen from the South will let him talk as he pleases, but go away and not listen to him.

A Member on the Republican side—Well, go. "Stand not on the order of your going, but go at once."

Mr. Lovejoy—Mr. Chairman, I claim the privilege of going anywhere and everywhere within the limits of this American Republic, as a free citizen, unmolested, and of uttering, in an orderly and legal way, any sentiment that I choose to utter, and yet, are we allowed to do it? Are we for that, in these United States, to be subjected to violence, outrage, tar and feathers, burning, imprisonment, and the gallows? Answer that question. I know that gentlemen say self-preservation is the first law of nature; but if you cannot keep Slavery, and allow free discussion, then I say, in God's name, before free discussion

and all the rights of free citizens are to be sacrificed to that Moloch of Slavery, that Moloch must be immolated at the shrine of Liberty, free speech, free discussion, and all those rights that cluster around an American citizen.

Why, Mr. Chairman, a citizen of Rome, when the scourge was already upraised and about to fall upon him, if he uttered the cry, "I am a Roman citizen," it arrested the scourge. Well, sir, is not there more of a charm, is it not a prouder position to be an American than to be a Roman citizen? And are we, in the nineteenth century, living under this Constitution, with our free institutions, are our persons and our rights to be less sacred than they were under the old Roman administration, eighteen centuries ago, and more? That is my response to the question why I recommended the circulation of the Helper book.

Now, what about John Brown? (Cries of "Let's have it.") This affair of John Brown brings us to the reality of things. This raid confronts us with Slavery, and makes us ask, Is slaveholding right? and if so, what rights has it? When the curtain rose, and startled the nation with this tragedy, John Brown lay there like a wounded lion with his head upon his paws, a sabre cut on his brow, bayonet gashes in his side, the blood oozing out, and life itself apparently ebbing fast. Around were certain little specimens of the canine species, snuffing and smelling, and finally one of them yelped out, "Mr. Lion, was the old war-horse that pastured on the Western Reserve with you on this expedition?" The lion slowly raised his head, cast a disdainful side glance upon the inquirer, growled out a contemptuous negative, and reposed his head as before.

In regard to John Brown, you want me to curse him. I will not curse John Brown. You want me to pour out execrations upon the head of old Osawatomie. Though all the slaveholding Balaks in the country fill their houses with silver and proffer it, I will not curse John Brown. I do honestly condemn what he did, from my standpoint, and with my convictions, I disapprove of his action, that is true; but I believe that his purpose was a good one; that so far as his own motives before God were concerned, they were honest and truthful; and no one can deny that he stands head and shoulders above any other character that appeared on the stage in that tragedy from beginning to end, from the time he entered the armoury there to the time when he was strangled by Governor "Fussation." (General laughter.)

He was not guilty of murder or treason. He did unquestionably violate the statute against aiding slaves to escape, but no blood was shed, except by the panic-stricken multitude, till Stevens was fired upon while waving a flag of truce. The only murder was that of Thompson, who was snatched from the heroic protection of a woman, and riddled with balls at the railroad bridge. Despotism has seldom sacrificed three nobler victims than Brown, Stevens, and Hazlitt.

As I remarked, Mr. Chairman, this brings us to confront Slavery, and ask what right this Caliban has upon earth? I say no right. My honest conviction, and I do not know why gentlemen need take offence; they need not unless they

choose; my honest conviction is, that all these slaveholding laws have the same moral power and force that rules among pirates have for the distribution of their booty; that regulations among robbers have for the division of their spoils; and, although I do not think gentlemen have behaved very handsomely to me, I am going to add, notwithstanding, that I do not mean to say that gentlemen who are slaveholders would be guilty of these particular things—that is not the point—I am talking about this matter in the court of conscience, in the court of right and wrong; and I insist that any laws for enslaving men have just the same moral force as the arrangement among robbers and pirates for distributing their spoils.

I want to know by what right you can come and make me a slave? I want to know by what right you can say that my child shall be your slave? I want to know by what right you say that the mother shall not have her child, given her from God through the martyrdom of maternity? Hear that soft, exquisite warble of a mother's love:—

"Ere last year's sun had left the sky,
A birdling sought my Indian nest,
And folded, ah! so lovingly,
Its tiny wings upon my breast."

Now, where is the wretch who would dare to go up and take that fluttering and panting birdling from the bosom of its mother, and say, "It is mine; I will sell it like a calf; I will sell it like a pig?" What right had that mother to her babe? Was it because she was Fanny Forrester, the gifted authoress? was it because she was the wife of a venerable and venerated missionary? No; it was because she was its mother; and every slave-mother has just as good a title to her babe as Fanny Forrester had to hers. No laws can make it right to rob her. I say, in God's name, my child is mine; and yet I have no right to mine that a slave-father has not to his child. Not a particle. The same argument that proves my right to my personal liberty, proves the right of every human being to his. The argument that proves my right to my children, gives the same title, the same sacred claim, to every father. They, as I, get it from their God, and no human enactment can annul the claim. No, sir, never! Therefore, every slave has a right to his freedom, in spite of your slave laws. Every slave has a right to run away, in spite of your slave laws.

I tell you, Mr. Chairman, and I tell you all, that if I were a slave, and had I the power, and were it necessary to achieve my freedom, I would not hesitate to fill up and bridge over the chasm that yawns between the hell of Slavery and the heaven of freedom with the carcasses of the slain. Give me my freedom! Hands off! Unthrottle that man! Give him his liberty. He is entitled to it from his God. With these views, I do not think, of course, it is any harm to help away a slave. I told you that a year ago; I need not repeat it.

A Member—You steal them.

Mr. Lovejoy—Who steals when a man comes and takes a child from my hearthstone? Who steals when he comes and takes the babe, flesh of my flesh, and bone of my bone? Who steals? I tell you that I have no more hesitation in helping a fugitive slave, than I have in snatching a

lamb from the jaws of a wolf, or disengaging an infant from the talons of an eagle. Not a bit. Long enough has the nation crouched and cowered in the presence of this stupendous wrong. Here and now I break the spell, and disenchant the Republic from the incantation of this accursed sorceress. It is simply a question whether it will pay to go down into the den where the wolf is. (Laughter.) If you would only go into your lair, and crunch the bones and tear the flesh of your victims, we might let you alone; but you will not. You claim the right to go with this flesh in your teeth all over our territories. We deny it.

My time is passing; I must go on. I wanted to say considerably more about John Brown.

Mr. Adrian—I propose that we give the gentleman more time.

Mr. Lovejoy—I will answer all the questions if the house will give me more time. (Cries of "No, no," "Give him time," &c.)

Mr. Singleton—No, sir; any gentleman shall have time, but not such a mean, despicable wretch as that.

Mr. Lovejoy—When the Jews could not do any thing else, they spit upon Christ, and said he was possessed of a devil. (Laughter.) One of the earliest settlements of Virginia was made by a fugitive slave. John Smith was captured in war, and sold to a high-toned, chivalrous Turk, and put at the task of threshing. The master rode up to the barn-door one day, and said, "Jack, you rascal, why don't you thresh faster?" Jack—*horresco referens*—flew at his master, killed him with his flail (Oh, for a Harper's Ferry committee!) sprang into the vacant saddle and escaped, and came and settled Jamestown. Oh, for a South-side preacher to admonish John to stay and serve his master, whose money he was, like a good Christian dog.

A moment, sir. Let us look at the question aside from its moral aspect. And I want to know what right Slavery, or a slaveholder, has to go with slaves into the common territories of the United States? You talk about the equality of the States, and I grant it. The citizens of a Slave State have all the rights in the Territories that a citizen of a Free State has. You have the right, I concede, to go into the common territories, and live there with any kind of property we can take, but you have not the right to take slaves. This is the distinction I make.

At a liberal estimate, there are not more than two millions of people in the United States interested in slave-labour. There are only four hundred thousand slaveholders. There are thirty millions of people in this country. There are twenty-eight millions interested in the system of free-labour, and two millions in that of slave-labour. The free system accommodates some eight millions in the Slave States better than the slave system. Here is the point. If Slavery goes into the Territories, free-labour cannot go there.

The presence of Slavery without any local law for the purpose is the expulsion of free-labour. If you take Slavery there, I cannot go there with the *New York Tribune*, the *Evening Post*, the *Independent*, or any similar paper, religious or secular. I cannot go with the minister I desire to hear preach the Gospel. Free schools cannot go there. You say, indeed, we can go. Yes; so all

may go to a public-house. It is common to all who choose to make it a temporary place of abode. All are invited to the *table d'hôte*. The landlord opens the door of the dining-room hall, and says, "Walk in, gentlemen." But if a man sitting there is leprous, dripping with a contagious disease, no one will go in. It is really as much an exclusion as if the doors were closed and barred against his entrance. So if Slavery goes, freedom cannot go. I favour the equality of the States. I favour the right of every citizen of a Slave State to go into the Territories, but I deny that he has a right to practise slaveholding there, for it is not an institution—it was never instituted, never established by law—but a practice like polygamy. I say that they have no right to go there and practise this high crime, so injurious to man and so offensive to God. And this is the question: whether these twenty-eight million people shall be accommodated, or two million people shall be accommodated; for, I repeat, the presence of Slavery is the utter exclusion of free-labour and the institutions of freedom. I deny no one their rights. The Slave States are equal to the Free States. It is a poor, pitiful, and paltry patriotism that cannot take in the entire extent of its country; but I do deny that Slavery has the same right as freedom in this country. Freedom is the Isaac; freedom is the heir of promise. Slavery is the Hagar and Ishmael, and they must go into the wilderness, and freedom shall have the entire inheritance. God and the fathers gave it to freedom and free institutions. It belongs to freedom, not to me; not to the citizens of the Free States, but to freedom, to the utter exclusion of slaveholding.

Now, gentlemen, I know you are in a mood to take a little advice. (Laughter.) I tell you I love you all. (Renewed laughter.)

Mr. McQuin—I utterly repudiate your love.

Mr. Lovejoy—Sinners did that of Christ, but he loved them still. (Laughter.)

Mr. McQuin—I do not think he loves you much.

Mr. Lovejoy—I am afraid that I am not much like him. He went, however, and preached to the spirits in prison; and I think I never approximated so nearly to him as in this regard, while making proclamation of the holy evangel of God to sinners in this House. I tell you of the Slave States that you must emancipate your slaves. It belongs to you, and not to us. You must transform them from slaves into serfs, and give them homes, and protect and guard the sanctity of the family. We shall not push you. If you say you want a quarter of a century, you can have it; if you want half a century, you can have it. But I insist that this system must ultimately be extinguished. There is no question about it. You who advocate the perpetuity of Slavery are like a set of madcaps who should place themselves on the top of an iceberg which had disengaged itself from the frozen regions of the north, and begun to flow downward through the warm climates. The sun shines and melts it; the soft winds blow on and melt it; the rains descend and melt it; the water ripples round and melts it; and then these wild visionaries, who fancied they could sail an iceberg through the tropics, start up and blaspheme sunshine, and rain, and zephyr; and, mounting the heavens,

tell Jehovah, that unless he stops the shining of the sun, and the blowing of the winds, and the falling of the rain, they will crumble his universe from "turret to foundation stone." (Great laughter.) Do you think God would feel bad? and would not the archangels tremble at the chivalry. (Renewed laughter.) You may call this extravagant, but you can no more perpetuate Slavery, and will no more dissolve the Union, in order to perpetuate it, than you can stop the shining of the sun, or the ripple of the sea, the descent of rain, or the blowing of the wind; ay, no more than you can subdue the ocean when it lashes itself into fury, and dashes its crested mountain billows against the rocks. It is as preposterous to think of taking Slavery down through the civilization of the ages, as it is of floating an iceberg through the tropics. It is the order of things. I am willing to concede that you can do any thing that any equal number of men can achieve. I did mean to taunt you about Harper's Ferry, but I believe I will not. I am willing to concede that you are as brave as other men, though I do not think you show it by this abusive language, because brave men are always calm and self-possessed. God feels no anger, for he knows no fear.

I say, you can do any thing that other men can do. You can preserve and perpetuate this system if any equal number of men could do it; but the stars in their courses are fighting against you; God, in his providence is fighting against you. The universe is established upon the great principle of justice and truth. It may be jostled out of its place for a little while, but it will, sooner or later, fall back to its grooves. You must sacrifice Slavery for the good of your country. Do this, and you will have the sympathy, the prayers, and the co-operation of the entire nation. Refuse or neglect this, refuse to proclaim liberty through all the lands to all the inhabitants thereof, and the exodus of the slave will be through the Red Sea. It is a well-known physiological as well as psychological fact, that ancestral characteristics reappear after a long series of years, and even of generations, as streams disappear, and gush out at a distant point. It is also well known that the Saxon blood is being infiltrated into the veins of the enslaved. By and by, some Marion will be found calling his guerilla troops from the swamps and everglades of South Carolina; and Patrick Henry will reappear in the Old Dominion, shouting, as of old, "Give us liberty, or give us death!" Then will transpire those scenes which troubled the prophetic vision of Jefferson, and made him tremble for his country, when he remembered that God was just, and that his justice would not sleep for ever, and that every divine attribute would be arrayed on the side of the struggling bondmen. And he justified the uprising by saying, the little finger of American Slavery was thicker than the loins of British despotism.

Sir, Virginia cannot afford, the country cannot afford, to continue a practice fraught with so much of peril. It is better to remove the maga-

zine than to be kept evermore in dread of a lighted match.

The future glory and usefulness of this nation cannot be sacrificed to this system of crime. The nations of the earth are to be taught by our example. The American Republic must repose queen among the nations of the earth. Slavery must die. *Carthago est delenda.*

The philosophy, therefore, and the lesson which the Slave States ought to have learned from John Brown and from all these events, are not these expressions of rage and vengeance. Instead of being stimulated to revenge, Virginia ought to have learned the lesson of penitence. Instead of arraying herself in sheep's-grey, she ought to have put on sackcloth and ashes. Instead of imbibing the distillation of corn, mixed with the products of the poultry-yard, she ought to have drunk the waters of bitterness, in view of her sin of slaveholding.

Mr. Martin, of Virginia—And if you come among us, we will do with you as we did with John Brown—hang you up as high as Haman. I say that as a Virginian.

Mr. Lovejoy—I have no doubt of it.

Review.

"SLAVERY DOOMED, or the Contest between Free and Slave-Labour in the United States." By Frederick Milner Edge. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. Price 6s.

THIS volume is a useful addition to anti-slavery literature. It submits, in a concise form, the history of the aggressions of the South, and the compromises of the North. Although the bulk of the information is borrowed from well-known publications, it has the merit of enabling those who are ignorant of the actual position of affairs in the United States to master the question without very much trouble. The chapter on "Slavery and the Church" is especially useful on this account. The author has quite made up his mind that the Republican party will carry the forthcoming election for the Presidency.

Obituary.

WE lament to have to record the decease of another friend of the anti-slavery cause. On Sunday evening the 22nd inst., Samuel Sturge died suddenly, at Brixton, of disease of the heart. He was in his 69th year, and had been for upwards of fourteen years a member of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, and a constant attendant at its meetings. He was a man of sagacious mind, the qualities of which were perhaps more solid than brilliant, but these rendered him all the more valuable as a colleague and an adviser. He was much loved and highly esteemed, and his loss will be very severely felt. We cherish his memory in affectionate remembrance.